

Civil
war in
Israel

PAGES 11 & 14

IN THESE TIMES

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\$1.25

Furtive invasion

*The U.S. is quietly
establishing a military
beachhead in
South America*

PAGE 12

Business as usual

Red squads and death squads

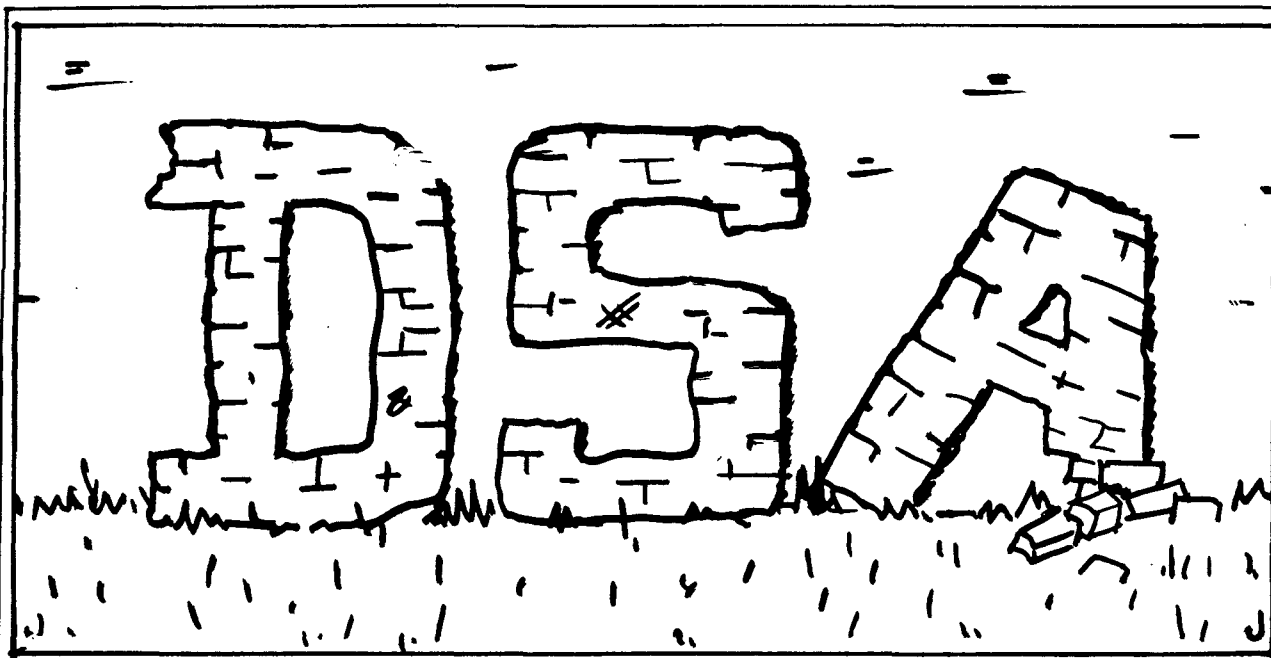
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Hollywood to Havana

Latin American Film Fest

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Photo by Paul Little



New page in left history of failure

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

Anyone with a stake in the American left has to be discouraged by the recent convention of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) (see *In These Times*, Dec. 16, 1987). DSA appears to have squandered whatever potential it had to influence the political mainstream. Its membership has gone down 40 percent in three years. More important, it has wandered off into sectarian byways. At its recent convention, DSA debated whether its national office could offer any criticism of Nicaragua's Sandinista regime. And it voted to join Rev. Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign (see "Letters," p.15).

The Sandinista debate originated because a faction in DSA objected to a national office statement praising the Central American peace agreement. The statement, noting the "ideological misgivings" that the Sandinistas may have about "freedom of speech and 'bourgeois democracy,'" expressed hope that the Nicaraguan revolution would develop "in a more genuinely democratic way." DSA's pro-Sandinistas countered that "Nicaragua has established a high level of both political and economic democracy and pluralism" and proposed that the national office be enjoined from making "equivocal, critical statements about Nicaragua."

It is one thing to excuse Sandinista assaults against unions, opposition newspapers, as well as the church and the Nicaraguan government's attempt to unite state, party and army—endeavors that mostly predated the CIA's creation of the contras. It is quite another thing to attrib-

ute a "high level of democracy" to Nicaragua. This is the same revolutionary fantasy that earlier led U.S. Communists to praise Stalin's Russia and Berkeley Maoists to gush over China's Cultural Revolution.

At the convention, the majority faction, committed to critical support of the Sandinistas, won out. But by debating this issue DSA shifted its universe of discourse away from the real alternatives: whether to support the Sandinistas critically or simply to oppose intervention, as liberal Democrats and libertarians prefer—or even whether to back the Sandinistas' domestic opponents. These questions can be debated with some hope of worldly engagement, but to debate whether Nicaragua enjoys a "high level of democracy" is like debating whether stones can talk or teacups can fly.

This kind of ideological diversion, the result of political frustration, has been the death knell of other left organizations, from Eugene Debs' Socialist Party in 1919 down to Students for a Democratic Society and one of DSA's predecessor organizations, the New American Movement (NAM).

Chasing the Rainbow: Like its debate over the Sandinistas, DSA's decision to support Jackson reflects an attempt to overcome the limits that political reality has imposed upon the organization. But while DSA's pro-Sandinista faction seeks to overcome reality through fantasy, its supporters of Jackson combine opportunism and wishful thinking.

The decision reflects a naive view of Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition. Jackson has some claim to being a tribune of the left. He is the only candidate who consistently walks picket lines, attacks multinational corporations and advocates real reductions in military spending. But he also has glaring weaknesses: a dubious record as an administrator, lack of experience in office and a long record of political grandstanding—resulting most recently in weakening Chicago's reformers in the city council. Furthermore, he lacks a positive economic program, and his most important foreign policy initiative—on the Mideast—is undercut by his own history of anti-Semitism. (On this subject, see the interview with and discussion of Jackson in the November/December, 1987, *Tikkun*).

Jackson's Rainbow Coalition is also less than a perfect vehicle for reviving the left. In practice, it has served primarily as a vehicle for Jackson's political ambition. (Although, it has also been a means of promoting local black candidates, including some, like former Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson, who have been opposed by black reformers.) It has shown no potential of drawing together black and white ethnic Democrats—a priority, it would seem, for any Northern, urban left movement.

Of course, each of the current Democratic candidates has serious deficiencies, but to recognize this is only to acknowledge that there is no clear candidate to which an organization like DSA should hitch its political future, especially when it lacks any local base of its own. Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), which along with NAM formed DSA in 1982, should have learned this lesson. DSOC spent eight years

trying to ride the coattails of Democratic presidential hopefuls only to discover that it was pursuing a political will o' the wisp. If an organization is to develop influence, it must be through local elections and candidates, not through tying itself to national campaigns.

Local chapters and organizations might profit by endorsing Jackson or other Democratic candidates, but it doesn't make sense for a national organization with broader, long-term aspirations to do so. DSA's decision to endorse Jackson signifies the absence of any meaningful plan for growth and influence. It is a sign of desperation.

Societal conditions: In DSA's pre-convention discussion bulletin, national committee member Jim Chapin blames DSA's travail over the last five years on "societal conditions far beyond those which any organization of our size and type could have dealt with." Societal conditions certainly have affected both Democrats and the left. But it is too easy to blame DSA's problems on the rise of Reaganism or the decline of organized labor.

An organization like DSA that labels itself "socialist" and professes to create a "socialist America" cannot affect mainstream politics. There is a "liberal" tradition in U.S. politics, but not an avowedly socialist one the way there is in Europe. On the contrary, to identify oneself as socialist is to court political isolation, *no matter what one means by the term*. As a political organization (rather than as a study circle or an editorial board), DSA inevitably suffered frustration and nourished sectarianism in its ranks.

There is another way to put this. DSA was created at the very time that the substance of socialism was being thrown in doubt in Europe. Eastern European exiles were experimenting with market socialism—traditionally a contradiction in terms—while French Socialists were reeling under the failure of Francois Mitterrand's program. In Europe, the resulting debate could occur under the verbal umbrella of socialism; but in the U.S., advocates of some form of economic democracy do not have this luxury. They have to frame debate in terms of a "liberal" or "progressive" tradition that reformers have repeatedly redefined.

INSIDE STORY

By trying to create a socialist tradition *de novo*, organizations like DSA have not only isolated themselves politically; they have abandoned any attempt to redefine the substance of socialism. They have ignored the very real questions about economic development that any organization committed to social change must face. To recast Susan Sontag's statement: One can learn far more about economic development from a business magazine like *Inc.* than from DSA's *Socialist Forum*. While people interested in resuscitating America's economy are discussing business incubators, research parks, quality-control groups and welfare employment training, DSA's socialists in its most recent *Socialist Forum* are debating whether to boycott Chilean fruit or to support the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic.

One can contrast the trajectory of NAM and DSOC, both of which originated as socialist organizations in the early '70s, with that of the constituent organizations of what became Citizen Action. Heather Booth of the Midwest Academy, Ira Ajlouni of the Ohio Public Interest Campaign and other Citizen Action leaders adopted a far less ambitious political strategy than the leaders of NAM and DSOC. They focused on economic issues that could unite middle- and lower-income Americans. They began with local and state efforts, and the organizations they built have grown in spite of "societal conditions."

Of course, some of the Citizen Action groups have fallen apart and others flounder, while the overall organization still seems oblivious to the challenges of post-industrial growth. But Citizen Action is in a good position to overcome its weaknesses while preserving its strengths. DSA, at this point, looks like an organization mired in the U.S. left's tradition of failure.

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By William Gasperini

MANAGUA

ON NEW YEAR'S EVE PRESIDENT DANIEL Ortega closed out 1987 reiterating the year's slogan, "Here no one surrenders." Symbolically, he chose to deliver his year-end message in Muelle de los Bueyes, a strategic town attacked by the contras in mid-October.

The next day Miguel Cardinal Obando y Bravo told an enthusiastic crowd attending his traditional New Year's mass, "If in this year hate, egoism, greed for power and inflexibility continue, 1988 will be another year without bread, without meat, beans, medicines...."

Both messages presage a bleak outlook for the new year. After an autumn of optimism due to the signing of the regional peace plan, the dawn of 1988 found Nicaraguans in a mood of growing pessimism over the prospects for peace. Just days before Christmas the contras launched their largest operation of the war, attacking the mining towns of Siuna, Bonanza and Rosita. Though they were quickly repelled, more than 100 people died, many of them civilians. In addition, stalled cease-fire talks, suspended dialogue between the government and civic opposition, unyielding economic problems and no sign of any change of attitude in Washington all contribute to the gloom.

Nonetheless, the Sandinistas remain outwardly confident that the revolution, in spite of everything, is advancing. Such spirit still pervades places like Esteli, the "heroic city" long known for its revolutionary fervor.

"We can't fail the revolution, which has cost so many lives," said Alejandra Picado, whose son Oscar died fighting in 1979 and whose other children are now combatants or Sandinista activists. "Everyone complains about the lack of food, that they can't buy things, etc. But the government isn't to blame. If not for Reagan things would be very different."

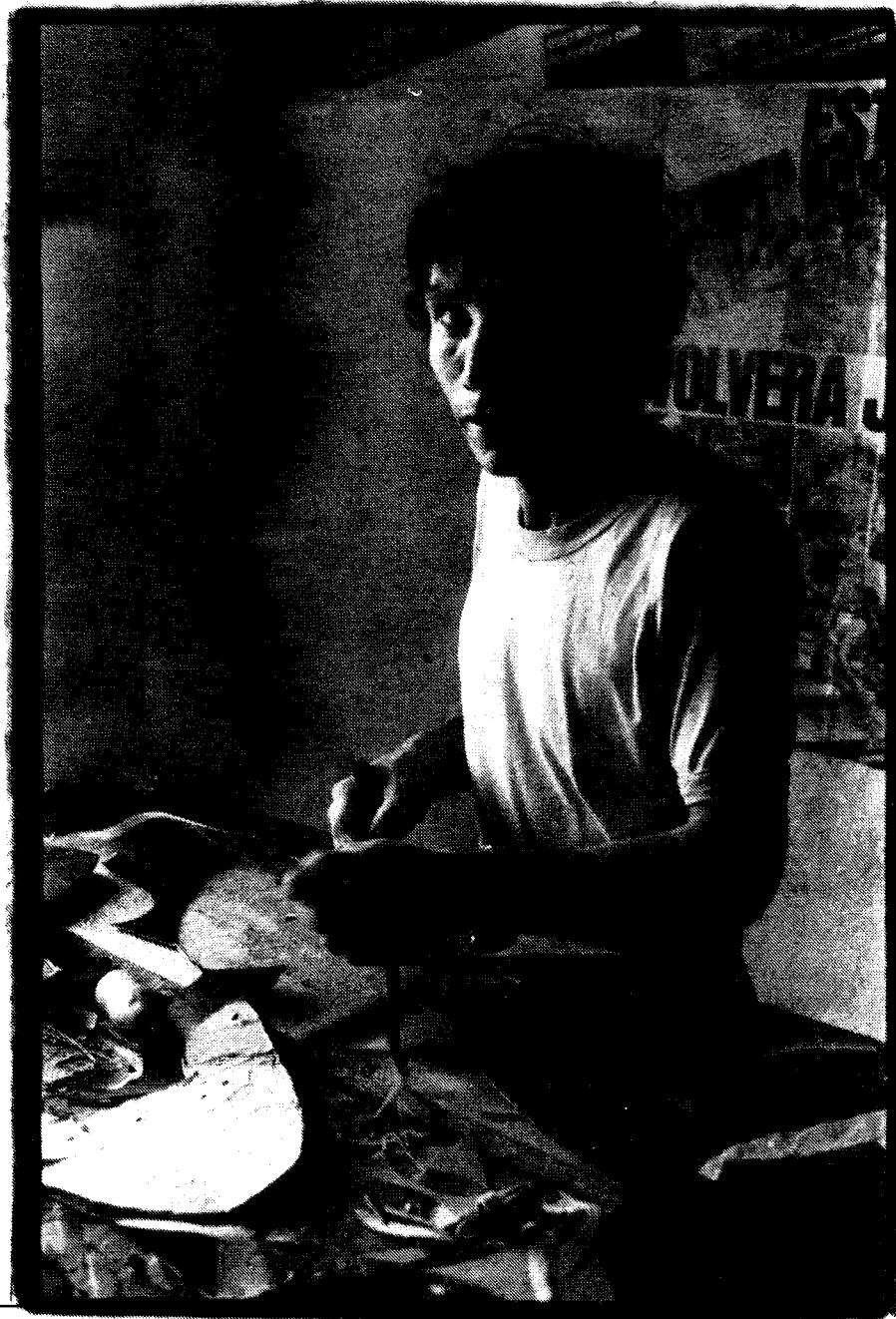
A decisive year: But at the same time one senses growing doubts about this explanation, amid a mood of frustration and simple exhaustion. Many people are tired of the constant exhortations to fortify defense, brace for more deaths, withstand increasing economic difficulties.

"They've been saying these things for years, but never think the whole situation is also due to their own bad administration," said Luis Porras, a Managua mechanic who quit his government job several years ago after growing disenchanted. "This year will be decisive, come what may."

The opposition believes the Sandinistas have largely provoked the war by closing off political space; U.S. hostility will never cease, they say, unless the country "democratizes." The FSLN responds that the revolution affords the opportunity to develop a new "people's democracy," distinct from systems traditionally dubbed as democratic.

Ortega recently added a new dimension to this perennial debate, proclaiming that "the people are in power" through the Sandinista Front as a vanguard party, and that this power would never be relinquished. Though, he also said another party might take nominal control of the government, it is difficult to imagine a system that would afford peaceable alternation of political parties, given Nicaragua's turbulent political history. One analogy Ortega raised is the case

Discontent on the rise in Nicaragua



A shoemaker in Esteli: Nicaragua's economy continues to flounder.

of Mexico, governed for 60 years by the "Institutional Revolutionary" Party while still allowing smaller opposition groups to exist.

The Sandinistas remain a largely secretive organization, firm in the conviction of their "vanguard" role. Part of this doctrine is belief in the need to control the political apparatus, armed forces, major unions and much of the economy.

While numerous opposition parties blast this doctrine as essentially communist, most of these groups remain fragmented and lack popular support. Although the parties recently united in demanding constitutional reforms, their ability to provide a realistic alternative to the Sandinistas is questionable.

In the absence of opinion polls, it is difficult to pinpoint the degree of popular support for the government, although municipal elections scheduled for this year may provide a useful barometer. Given this situation, most ordinary Nicaraguans appear too preoccupied with economic survival to participate much in the political debate. Yet discontent is rampant, particularly in Managua's sprawling working-class barrios where talk often turns to basics.

"Before, at least you could sometimes buy a soda, but now they're too expensive," said Ramon Monjarres, who works odd jobs to help support his family. "Now we have trouble even

finding rice, beans, sugar, everything"

Such comments often reflect the inevitable difficulty of grasping the overall scope of events, including the degree of U.S. involvement in Nicaragua. Many observers argue that fomenting discontent is precisely the aim of the contra war; Sandinista leaders have talked frequently about such a "Chilenization" strategy, stressing that Nicaragua will never be another Chile.

Nature's role: As with the devastating floods of 1982, nature is also contributing to the situation. Severe drought in most of Nicaragua's food producing regions nearly wiped out last year's bean and rice harvests, forcing the government to declare a state of emergency.

But blaming nature or the war seems in-

The Sandinistas remain outwardly confident. But many people are tired of exhortations to fortify defense.

compatible to many people when sugar, cooking oil and other scarce goods are freely available in Managua's infamous Mercado Oriental (Eastern Market) at elevated prices. While the government says speculators

cause this phenomenon, critics charge that breakdown of the centralized distribution system and maximizing exports to earn scarce foreign exchange are to blame.

The country now functions on a dual economy—one in cordobas, the other in dollars. With inflation topping 1,000 percent in 1987, even periodic salary increases fail to keep pace with spiralling prices. Those lucky enough to obtain dollars—either on the flourishing black market or remitted from relatives abroad—contribute to the booming business in several dollar "diplo-stores," where the availability of goods rivals that of any U.S. shopping mall.

But those outside this economy must inevitably find secondary forms of income. More than ever before, child and adult vendors flock through the cities selling whatever they can.

Meanwhile, there are other, more tangible signs of the strains racking Nicaraguan society. Common crime in Managua has risen notably in the past year, in particular by gangs of disaffected youths. Daily life is also compounded by the fight to board the scant buses that are not laid up for lack of spare parts.

The Sandinistas readily admit that reality dictates the need to end the war in order to address the economic situation, and the regional peace plan offers the most logical way to do that. But the Guatemala Accords themselves have sparked a debate over how far to go without compromising political principles.

Three positions: "There are those in the Front who say we've come this far, we need to continue with the 'project' no matter what the costs," said Mauricio Davila, a Sandinista member. "Then others say some compromise is necessary, such as the indirect dialogue with the contras, and a third group (the small 'bourgeois' sector of better-off Front supporters) want such things as foreign investment regardless of the political implications."

Juxtaposed with the peace accords, however, are Sandinista plans to double the number of soldiers, reservists and militias to 600,000 in the coming years. President Ortega remarked rhetorically, "We will arm all 3 million of our people if we need to."

While Washington points to these plans as proof of Nicaragua's threat to the region, the Sandinistas say they are necessary so long as the U.S. support to the contras continues. Regardless of the obvious economic burden of such plans, the Sandinistas say they are no contradiction to the peace initiatives; they may serve as a bargaining chip in peace negotiations.

"This year we will concentrate in one united front the force of the workers, the *campesinos*, women, young people, the force of all Nicaraguans to defeat militarily, economically and politically the Yankee aggression," Ortega declared in his year-end message. "We will continue fighting for peace."

Throughout the countryside the combative spirit of the various defense forces remains firm. But given the enormous costs, the deepening crisis is testing the degree of unity to which Ortega was referring. □

INSHORT

By Joel Bleifuss

In the Nixon-Reagan tradition

College Republican ranks have been split asunder over allegations that the group's chairman, Stockton Reeves, used dirty tricks to get elected. Reeves "cheated to win," says Jim Athone, former chairman of the California College Republicans. The College Press Service reports that Reeves, former chairman of the Florida state College Republicans who was elected at the College Republican national convention last June in Philadelphia, gained votes by inflating the number of Florida College Republican chapters. Reeves received electoral support from 10 college chapters that do not officially exist on Florida campuses. The Reeves camp blames this on Florida's leftist college administrators who persecute Republican youth by denying them official recognition. Physical threats allegedly also played a part in the campaign. Sheri Lee Rope, a Southern Cal student who backed Reeves' opponent, says she received death threats. Further, Reeves is being criticized for aligning the College Republicans with Jack Kemp's (D-NY) presidential campaign. Reeves recently joined Kemp on a Central American tour. And Reeves' immediate predecessor, David Miner, now works with the Kemp campaign in North Carolina. That state's College Republican Chairwoman Zan Bunn makes no apologies for supporting Kemp. "There is nothing wrong with calling a spade a spade," she says. As for Reeves, he says he is not a crook, just a "witch hunt" victim.

Chemical vices

A new tavern on Beverly Hills' Rodeo Drive is named H₂O. It serves only water—68 varieties from around the world. And in Tokyo, department stores have now installed "O₂ bars," oxygen vending machines that for less than \$1 allow shoppers to "refresh" themselves for three minutes. Still, neither are likely to replace C₂H₅OH establishments any time soon.

Is Jane Fonda chemically dependent?


Fifty to 75 percent of all people who exercise five or more times a week are addicted to chemicals. According to Boston University psychologist Connie S. Chan, the chemicals in question are those pleasure-causing substances released by the brain during periods of physical exertion. Most exercise addicts, she says, started out as recreational users of exercise, only later developing their dependency. "Even two days away from exercise can affect addicts psychologically," she says. "They start experiencing guilt, depression, irritability, moodiness and anxiety. Longer periods produce major symptoms of withdrawal. In extreme cases, where major injuries keep compulsive athletes from their sports for two or three months, they may even turn anorexic or bulimic."

An eye for an eye, a bullet for a stone

Recently a lot of attention has been focused on the Israeli army's turning their guns upon stone-throwing Palestinian teen-agers. They have other alternatives. Alternatives like the Israeli-produced armored vehicles equipped with water cannons. Or is that even the point? A story last November by Dorit Sheikersky in the Israeli publication *Zu Haderekh* lets those who produce these anti-demonstration vehicles speak for themselves.

A patent on oppression: Gideon Limend, the plant manager at Kibbutz Beit Alfa, where the armored cars are built, describes his product: "The armored vehicle is a fire-truck. Instead of using a regular cannon, there is a special cannon for dispersing demonstrations. When you want to spray at stone-throwers from a distance of 50 meters with a regular fire-extinguishing cannon, much water is wasted, 1,600 liters a minute. This cannon shoots pulses of seven liters with intervals between them, and its inventor has a patent on how to create enough pressure to shoot it to a distance of 50 meters.... Come and look, this is the vehicle we manufacture for France. You can add foam. And we have a system that adds color or tear gas to the water from special containers. When you shoot gas-grenades, they spread a lot of gas in one place; demonstrators in the West Bank learned how to put grenades in water buckets. Our gas comes down with the water, like rain. They can't do anything against it. People cry, and maybe the gas burns their hands a little. They must disperse! We also added a bulldozer for clearing away burning tires, burning cars and roadblocks."

Better for the world: The armored water cannon was specifically designed to disperse demonstrations in South Africa. Since



And they're fresh: A peasant harvests the eggs from an Olive Ridley nest without molesting the turtle. This nest was laid below the high tide line and would not have survived.

The revolution and herpetology

Nicaragua is moving forward with a sea turtle conservation plan that could prove to be a model for the world. Nicaragua's natural resources agency (IRENA) program aims to strike an ecological balance between the needs of the endangered turtles and the economic and nutritional needs of the country's coastal poor.

Sea turtles, migrating thousands of miles every year, are a planetary species. But the animals are also considered a delicacy in Latin America and are in great demand.

The Olive Ridley sea turtles are known to nest on only 16 beaches in the world. And in the past three decades several of those beaches in Latin America have been wiped out by commercial exploitation.

The Olive Ridley nesting ritual is a marvel of nature. Triggered by some unknown cue, the female Ridges emerge from the sea and lay their eggs in the sand en masse. During a 24-72 hour period, as many as 10,000 turtles will come up to nest on these few small stretches of beach. This phenomenon, locally known as the *arribada* (the arrival), may leave from 200,000 to more than 1 million turtle eggs on the beach. The *arribada* normally occurs from three to six times a year—approximately every 30 days between July and December.

Another ritual is triggered in the process. An IRENA research pro-

gram discovered that during the six-month-long egg-laying season as many as 3,000 peasants would camp on the beaches to wait for the sea turtles to lay their eggs. The people would build temporary shelters that entailed destruction of the tropical forests behind the beaches. The agency's socio-economic research noted, first, that the event's festivities appeared to promote alcoholism and, second, that this increase in non-laboring hours accompanied a decrease in food production.

Local egg collectors do eat some of the eggs, but most are sold to middlemen who buy the low-priced eggs for resale to city markets. Since many people believe them to be an aphrodisiac, the eggs are in great demand. Furthermore, competition to gather as many eggs as possible sometimes resulted in serious injury or death to these very rare turtles.

Nicaragua's conservation project involves an environmental education program that promotes the understanding that the turtles' eggs must be harvested as a sustainable and renewable resource. Studies indicated that nests from the early *arribadas* were naturally destroyed by nesting that occurred before the first eggs had an opportunity to hatch. The present policy allows harvest of eggs without molesting the turtles from the early *arribadas* (July-September) while protecting of the late-season nestings (October-December).

IRENA has also organized the local populace into turtle-egg collectives, offering them the exclusive right to harvest eggs. This helps prevent deforestation. It has also given the community a reason to help patrol and protect the turtles from poachers during the closed season. IRENA has taken over the role of middleman, paying a higher price to the peasants and allowing for better control over illegal selling of eggs. The program's profits are then used to fund the conservation program. In addition, one of the beaches and its surrounding tropical forests have been made into a national park.

According to Lynette McLamb, a physician with the San Francisco-based Earth Island Institute, "Conservation of the environment is the ultimate form of preventative medicine.... It's incredible that such a poor country in the middle of a war can have the foresight to protect its most important resource, the natural environment."

And Jose Morales, director of wildlife for IRENA, characterized Nicaragua's sea turtle populations as an international resource, important not only to Nicaragua but to the health of the ocean ecosystem. Morales indicated that eventually all the important beaches will be made into reserves to ensure that sea turtles will continue to lumber onto deserted shores to lay their eggs, as they have done for more than 10 million years.

—Todd Steiner



Todd Steiner Earth Island Institute

The 'Living Tomb'

Last August, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) lawyers toured the female High Security Unit (HSU) in Lexington, Ky., and condemned it as a "living tomb." In October 1987 the federal Bureau of Prisons announced plans to close the unit that it had opened one year earlier. Is there a thaw of hearts in federal penal officials? Not exactly. It appears that the Lexington unit was just the prototype of a larger facility for "terrorist" women that is set to open this spring.

Three of the five women currently assigned to the HSU—located in the basement of Lexington's medium-security Federal Correctional Institute—have been convicted for activities associated with their political beliefs. Susan Rosenberg, an activist in clandestine revolutionary groups, was sentenced in 1985 to 58 years for the possession of arms and explosives. Alexandrina Torres, a Puerto Rican independence activist, was sentenced to 35 years in jail for "conspiracy to use force to oppose the lawful authority of the U.S. over Puerto Rico," and possession of weapons and explosives. Sylvia Baraldini, another revolutionary, was arrested in 1982 on Racketeering Influenced Corrupt Organizations conspiracy charges and sentenced to 40 years in jail. Of the remaining inmates, one is a former federal prison escapee and the other was convicted of murder and kidnapping.

All aspects of the HSU inmates' life—visits, calls, mail and personal property—are severely restricted. The unit has 16 cells, eight of which have no windows. The work room, indoor recreation room and visiting room are windowless. There is a

small outdoor yard. Each area in the unit, including the bathrooms, are monitored by video cameras around the clock. (In August the women were given a shower curtain.) Guards log the inmates' every move.

The women in the Lexington HSU are confined to the basement rooms for all but one hour each day. They may not decorate the single-tone walls with photographs or other personal items. They are allowed visits from immediate family members only. These visits are monitored. They are allowed five paperback books at a time. These must be approved by prison officials.

The inmates report symptoms of mental stress like loss of memory, claustrophobia and inability to concentrate. Several are experiencing physical problems like weight loss, loss of eyesight, hallucination of spots and chronic tiredness.

The Bureau of Prisons maintains the women assigned to the unit are those "whose confinement raises a serious threat of external assault for the purposes of aiding the offenders' escape." But according to Torres' attorney, none of the women in the unit had an administrative hearing to determine whether they fall within federal criteria for assignment to such a unit. Nor have they been told why they were transferred to the HSU or what they can do to get out. Rosenberg says that when she asked the reason for her transfer, an evasive prison official commented, "The only way you can get out is if you change your associations and affiliations."

Last August, ACLU representatives toured the HSU. After interviewing both staff and inmates, the ACLU concluded that the unit should be closed. The ACLU's report said that the facility's environment and

procedures violate the women's constitutional rights to freedom of speech, assembly and due process of law. It said the conditions at the HSU "create severe mental distress" and constitute an "administrative cruelty that is gratuitous, unnecessary and extreme." The report also characterized the use of political beliefs as a criteria for placement in the unit as "unconstitutional coercion."

The ACLU and the New York-based Center for Constitutional Rights are now planning to file a complaint against the Bureau of Prisons and individual prison officials at Lexington.

According to their lawyers, the inmates believe that the conditions of isolation, sensory deprivation, surveillance and censorship are all part of a behavior-modification experiment designed to break them of their political convictions or, if that is not possible, in Rosenberg's words, to drive them "crazy."

In October 1987, the Bureau of Prisons announced that it would close the Lexington HSU. A Bureau of Prisons official explained at the time, "a larger [unit] is needed to accommodate females convicted of terrorist acts and other federal crimes."

In November, Bureau of Prisons Director Michael Quinlan told the women in the HSU that they would be transferred in May to a new high-security facility in Mariana, Fla. This new unit would, in Quinlan's words, accommodate 100 female "terrorists."

It appears the bureau is planning to streamline procedures developed at Lexington and put them into operation on a broader basis in the new and larger high-security unit for women at Mariana.

—Nadine McGann

the kibbutz decided to stop exporting to "sinister regimes," South Africa no longer receives the armored vehicles, but France and Thailand do and England has some ordered. Mattias Treiber, the secretary at the kibbutz that produces the armored vehicles, explains their virtues this way: "It's better that the world, and also Israel and the Occupied Territories, should have water-cannons rather than other things. Our sons in the army won't have to shoot in the air and hit Palestinian demonstrators." To which Sheikersky comments, "This kind of argument is precisely what all oppressive regimes in the world [including Israel's] have been waiting for. They fired because they had no choice. Now they have a choice. With water you can solve any problem of resistance to an occupation or to a regime.... I believe there is no such thing as a humane occupation, and dispersing demonstrations, whether with water or guns, does not diminish the impact of ruined homes, jail, torture and other, minor details. This may be sad, but the problem is occupation itself, not its humaneness or efficient maintenance."

Manners for money matters

Etiquette dictates that well-bred diners keep both their hands above the table. The archaic rationale for this is that if both hands are showing no guns or swords can be drawn, no hanky-panky can go on. In a similar vein, it appears a new mode of greeting is in the making. *Dollars and Sense* reports that the way men do business on Wall Street has changed in the wake of the insider-trading scandals. They are becoming much more physically affectionate. "Have you noticed how much hugging is going on lately on Wall Street?" asked one financier in *Fortune* magazine. "We're checking to see if the other guy is bugged. I won't talk to anyone anymore unless I'm naked in the sauna."

Union ed

Last October the delegates at the AFL-CIO's biennial convention voted to spend \$13 million over the next two years on TV commercials that are set to the jingle, "America works best when we say, 'Union yes'" (see *In These Times*, Nov. 4, 1987). The spots will feature Dolly Parton, Dionne Warwick and Kris Kristofferson. But does this ad scheme with a celebrity shine have anything on the following union initiative? Teachers, labor leaders and school administrators in St. Paul, Minn., have developed the nation's first labor studies curriculum. Steve Dress, writing in *Art Meets Labor*, reports that the project grew out of the unions' concern that "the new generation of young people were entering the world of work without the experience or knowledge of the struggle to build America's trade unions. Such an ignorance was leading to an assumption by young workers that participation in unions was not an essential part of one's work life." Dress says that with the new study guides St. Paul's "students can now learn the vocabulary of labor negotiations, defining such terms as 'contract,' 'bargaining,' 'strike' or 'picket line.'" The students can also learn a bit about labor history and if they are in high school participate in mock union negotiations. For more information on this program contact Steve Dress, Trades and Labor Assembly, 411 Main St., Room 103, St. Paul, Minn. 55102.

Memory lane

For those of you wanting a line on the next nostalgia fix, the '50s are out, and the '60s are in—particularly 1968. "The year that shaped a generation" is how *Time* dubbed it on the January 11 cover. Looking back at the Vietnam War, writer Lance Morrow characterizes it as a "bad mistake." He writes, "But for the experience of Vietnam, the U.S. might have invaded Nicaragua by now; the threat there is more immediate, the logistics easier. Instead, the battle is waged by proxy, sloppily and tentatively and erratically. 'Involvement' and 'commitment' have become dangerous words, alive with the demons of 1968." It is always good to be aware of demons, especially revisionist ones. But in the midst of 1968 nostalgia it is also necessary to remember the essence of the Vietnam War. The following statistics are from *Unwinding the Vietnam War*, an anthology published by Real Comet Press of Seattle.

Southeast Asia	United States of America
1,921,000 Vietnamese dead	2,500,000 soldiers served
300,000 Vietnamese orphans	58,135 soldiers killed
131,000 Vietnamese war widows	2,500 soldiers missing in action
200,000 Vietnamese prostitutes	303,616 soldiers wounded
200,000 Cambodians dead (1969-75)	33,000 soldiers paralyzed as a result of injuries
100,000 Laotians dead (1964-73)	

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

THE REAGAN ERA COMMENCED AT THE TAIL end of Jimmy Carter's fatal recession finale. It soon brought about an even deeper slump through its own policies and, after a long but unimpressive recovery, is likely to end next January leaving a recession for Reagan's successor.

When the nation's professional economists gathered here after Christmas there seemed to be a general sense that Reagan had lucked through. He sometimes did partially right things for wholly wrong reasons. He generally pursued contradictory policies, yet consistently favored the rich, and—with a smile and a nod of the head—delayed the future of the economy's most crucial issues.

Samuel Bowles, David Gordon and Thomas Weisskopf, co-authors of the 1983 book *Beyond the Wasteland*, argued that Reagan set out to change the basic rules of the game to reverse a long-term deterioration of business profits. He managed to win most of his political battles that should have strengthened business forces—driving down the wage share, reducing business taxes, cutting real import prices. But, they concluded, he lost the economic war: "The costs of victory—low levels of capacity utilization and high real interest rates—were substantial enough to offset the battlefield gains and depress the rate of investment," the economists said.

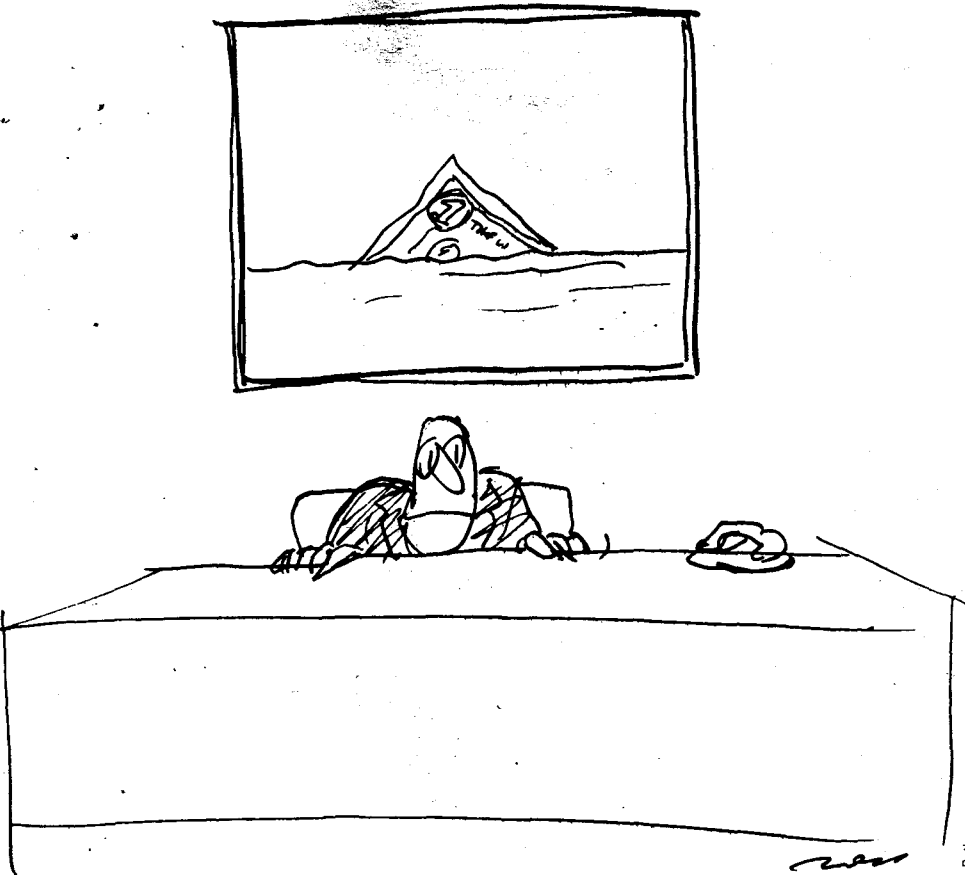
Capitalist power: During the postwar years U.S. business power rested on an accord with labor, a worldwide *Pax Americana*, an accommodation of most citizens to business interests and cohesion among different groups of capitalists, according to Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf. But that power began to decline in the '70s. Using a variety of indexes to measure components like relative cost of job loss, worker resistance, government regulation or capital tax share, they found that capitalist power increased sharply in the '80s. But using their measure of "underlying capitalist power," which compensates for the rate at which business resources are used (capacity utilization), they concluded that "relative capitalist power was lower in the '80s than during the first three decades of the postwar period."

What businesses gained with their new power was lost because the economy was not operating at full steam, the economists argued. But even their measure of underlying power does show an upturn in the '80s. Two changes, they said, accounted for most of this increased underlying power: lower taxes and greater trade power.

Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf said trade power has increased because they express it in their calculations in terms of international military power. Maybe that was a useful approximation for most of the postwar period, but it no longer seems sufficient. Disproportionately more of the benefit of that military power in maintaining a worldwide market now goes to other capitalist countries—or to U.S. multinationals operating overseas. (Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf also give much less importance than many economists to technology—perhaps too little—in their power model of profit and capital accumulation.)

The other cause of improved terms of trade was higher interest rates, which lowered import prices and increased profits. But

Economists study legacy of the Reagan revolution



at the same time both import penetration and high interest rates had a contradictory effect and cut capacity utilization.

The economists argued that the tax, military and monetary policies accounting for the limited underlying increase in capitalist

REAGANOMICS

power during the Reagan years may not be politically sustainable—in part because of budget deficit pressures. That leaves as the Reagan economic legacy a military-industrial complex built at the expense of consumer and traditional capital goods manufacturing and a "massively regressive redistribution of wealth and income." Maybe that was the point after all, they concluded.

Deficit disagreement: Anyone who listens to political, business establishment and media opinion-makers might think that the biggest economic policy problem is the federal deficit. But a surprising and growing number of economists with differing politics and rationales disagree, arguing that only modest budget deficit reductions are desirable, especially with a recession imminent.

Northwestern University Professor Robert Eisner, the new president of the American Economic Association, goes further. There's a grand illusion created by failing to separate current expenses from investment (plus

other accounting failures, such as not factoring in simultaneous state and local government surpluses along with federal deficits), according to Eisner. Every business makes such a distinction, putting depreciation charges rather than capital expenditures in its profit-and-loss statements. If the government accounted for the roughly \$200 billion of the public investment in the fiscal 1987 budget, as a business would, the federal deficit would be reduced by about \$70 billion. With other similar adjustments, "we might well wipe out the entire government deficit," Eisner argued.

Only if the current rate of unemployment is what economists call the "natural rate" will the deficits bring inflation. Although economists at the meeting heatedly debated "natural rate" notions, few non-economists think the current rate is natural. Which current rate is "natural" anyway? Massachusetts' 3 percent or Illinois' 7 percent? Eisner argued deficits may even lessen inflation. The current economic problems, he said, stem mainly from restrictive monetary policy and a still overvalued dollar. "Our public policy may well be mortgaging the next generation," Eisner concluded, "but it is not 'the deficit' that is doing it."

The military's drain: Military spending, however, may be mortgaging the future. Over the postwar decades, Smith College profes-

sor Tom Ridell argued, U.S. military power has increased the profit rate of U.S. corporations. But it has not bought public good, replied University of Massachusetts professor William G. Shepherd in a panel discussion. If military spending has been intended to take control of the Soviet Union or prevent it from dominating the U.S., then it has been a bad investment. It would be inherently extremely difficult for either power to succeed, whether by invasion or nuclear blackmail. So both the U.S. and USSR have been spending far more than is needed for a reasonable degree of security, draining national wealth "into non-productive weapons and activities."

The distortion has even become conscious policy, argued Northwestern professor Ann Markusen, with the creation of a *de facto* industrial policy of "defense-led innovation," most strikingly with "Star Wars." But this "use of military Keynesianism to stave off recession in the short run...undermines the more commercially oriented manufacturing sectors," especially hurting the "industrial heartland" outside of the "defense perimeter." She believes that these terms more accurately describe the country's economic geography than Frostbelt and Sunbelt.

This change may help account for the shift in income reported by Bennett Harrison of MIT and Barry Bluestone of the University of Massachusetts in Boston. A year ago they released a report claiming that the "great American job machine" had been far out-producing the rest of the industrialized nations. But, according to the report, the product had become inferior: the proportion of low-wage jobs had grown substantially, and among full-time, year-round workers there had been polarization. This reflected a popular image of proliferating service workers, yuppie lawyers or engineers and vanishing middle-income, unionized factory jobs.

In response to the report, there was a hailstorm of technical and political attack. So they refined their work, focusing on full-time workers and eliminating business cycle effects. The results are basically the same: after a sharp decline in the low-wage share in the '60s, then stabilization in the '70s, there was a sharp increase in the low-wage share of jobs in the '80s. That "great U-turn" has and regions and within both manufacturing and service industries.

"Seeds of destruction": In this era of underlying economic weakness but growing capitalist power, speculation has been the order of the day. Richard DuBoff and Edward Herman debunked the idea that the great merger craze has had anything to do with efficiency or better management: as in the past, speculative greed by promoters of mergers has been the driving force, with deleterious effects for the economy. And the stock market crash reflected that same tension between illusion and reality, like earlier speculative frenzies such as the tulip mania or south sea bubble.

Scolding his profession, John Kenneth Galbraith said, "We cannot believe anything so theologically perfect as the market can have within it the seeds of its own destruction or insane behavior." Yet, he said, it did.

Perhaps the same is true of the economy as a whole. Reagan's tenure certainly has not disproved that theory. □

The experts generally agreed that Reagan sometimes did partially right things for wholly wrong reasons. He generally pursued contradictory policies, yet consistently favored the rich, and delayed the future of the economy's most crucial issues.

By Kathryn Phillips

LOS ANGELES

CLAUDIA MOORE KNOWS HER LOCAL elementary school, the 112th Street School in Los Angeles' economically depressed Watts neighborhood, about as well as any parent can. Four of her five children attended kindergarten through sixth grade there and from 1973 to 1985 she worked at the school as a teacher's aide. Yet until this year, she didn't like much of what she saw.

"It looked like every year the school was getting worse," she said recently. The campus was dirty and in disrepair, children were unsupervised outside of the classroom and the teaching was mediocre. "There were so many that [appeared] to me were just coming in for the paycheck," she added.

Moore was so disgusted with the school that as her youngest son Randy approached school age last spring, she started considering alternatives. Before she could act, though, 112th Street School became part of an ambitious experimental program designed to attack one of the most frustrating problems American educators face: effectively educating impoverished black children.

The high cost of good advice: Despite more than 25 years of piecemeal special federal, state and local programs nationwide, economically deprived black students continue to fare poorly in the education system. The dropout rate among black high school students in California is approximately 13 percent, nearly twice as high as the dropout rate for white students. Ironically, this has happened even as educators have become more certain of what is needed to help these children learn. For the most part, though, school districts have been reluctant to do what educators say is necessary. Putting the good advice to work costs a lot. It also means changing attitudes and teaching traditions.

Last year, on the prodding of parents, the black community and a decade-old court judgment, the Los Angeles Unified School District committed about \$5.5 million to a no-holds-barred effort to improve 10 troubled schools. In July the district began what it calls the Ten Schools Program. The experimental program involves 10 predominantly black elementary schools in and near Watts—including 112th Street Elementary School—that have consistently ranked low in standardized test results. It incorporates what educators believe to be the best programs into the regular state-mandated curriculum at each of these schools.

The program applies techniques that fit into an education philosophy commonly identified with the late Harvard University educator Ron Edmonds. Edmonds challenged the idea that inner-city school children couldn't perform well because of their environment. Instead, he insisted, problems with learning lay mostly with how teachers were teaching and schools were responding to these children.

At the 10 Los Angeles schools, the school year has been lengthened to about 10 months. The teacher-student ratio for grades kindergarten through second has been lowered from the district-wide standard of one teacher to 27 students to a more manageable one-to-20. The old system of "tracking" students by dividing classes into skill level groups (for instance, having a slow, medium and fast reading group) has been abolished. Standard English language skills, including oral skills, are emphasized and included in the study of most subjects. Parents who have

Experimental inner-city program tries to wake up elementary schools

LOS ANGELES



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historically been ignored or alienated by the schools are being invited into them, and programs are being designed to teach them how to help their children learn.

Moreover, the staff at the schools—from principals to approximately 500 teachers—have been hand-picked. Many of the Ten Schools Program children live in crowded and crime-plagued neighborhoods and housing projects. Two of the schools serve Nickerson Gardens, a 1,200-unit public housing project that is notorious for its drug and crime problems. The school district wanted the experimental schools to have principals and teachers who believed they could successfully teach inner-city black children despite the poverty and related problems. It wanted teachers who were willing to break from ineffective traditional teaching methods.

The last chance: When she heard about the experimental program, Claudia Moore, who is black, decided to give 112th Street School another chance and enrolled her son. Only five months after the five-year program began, she said, she had witnessed striking changes.

"I see a staff coming in and not just sitting around the lounge drinking coffee. I see a principal who's not just sitting behind her desk," she said. The school grounds are clean. And at recess, children are supervised. But what really matters to Moore is that her son is learning.

Other schools around the country have applied similar methods in varying degrees. But the Los Angeles program appears to be the most significant experiment of its kind. In some ways, the Ten Schools Program rep-

"I see a staff coming in and not just sitting around drinking coffee," says one mother of a student in the Ten Schools Program. "I see a principal who's not just sitting behind her desk." But what's most important is that her son is learning.

resents a final exam. If it works, it could become a model for other inner-city schools. If it doesn't, there's no clear alternative.

The school district plans to measure the program's effectiveness largely by how well the schools' students perform on standardized achievement tests. Yet in light of criticism that the tests are culturally biased and not true indicators of abilities or knowledge, the measure seems unfair.

Lately, however, even Congress has been advocating more federal standardized testing, so it appears that the district has no choice in the matter.

One of the program's stated goals is to raise the 10 schools' ranking on standardized tests up to the 50th percentile, the national median. Most of the 10 schools now rank below the 20th percentile. The first round of testing will be held next fall.

Glitches in the system: Yet even before the schools' classes began last July the carefully planned program was bothered by glitches. The school district had hoped to attract mostly experienced teachers to the special program. Instead it had to bring in many new teachers.

"We didn't have the abundance [of experienced applicants] we had hoped for," said Barbara Smith, the district administrator who oversees the program. In addition, the district and the teachers' union, United Teachers-Los Angeles, butted heads over the requirement that teachers and principals already assigned to the 10 schools before the program began should go through an interview and could be transferred out of the schools if they didn't pass the interview.

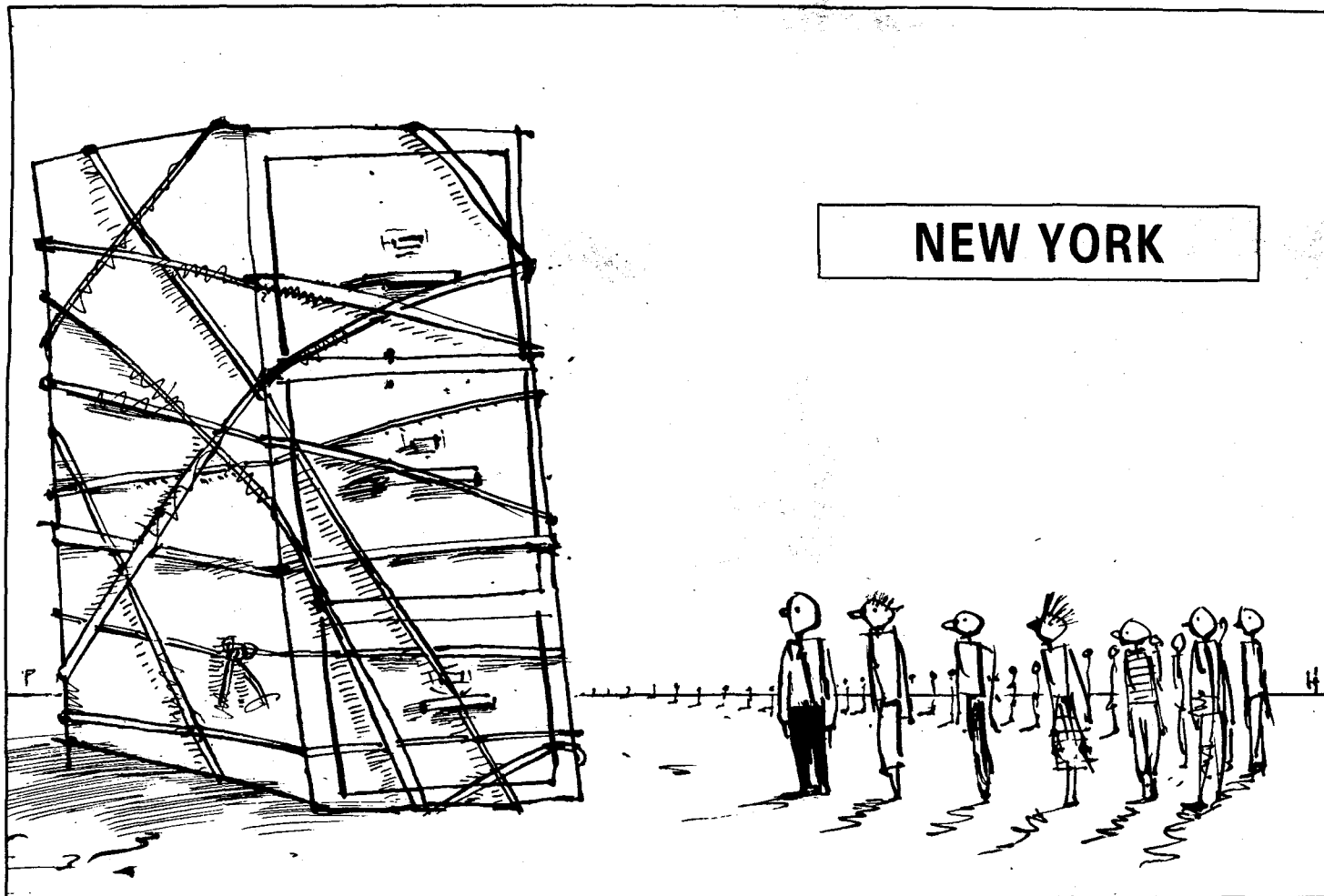
"The board never consulted the union" when it was planning the program, said Andy Piligian, a teacher at 112th Street School and a union representative. "I think if they would have done that, [the union] would have been amiable about it."

Since the program began, teachers have complained that they haven't had enough input into how the curriculum is molded by including teachers from each school on an advisory board. Principals and teachers have complained that despite the funds allocated already not enough has been provided to meet needs peculiar to low-income areas. The schools need full-time nurses, the principals say, because many students' parents can't pay for health care. Thus, when a child is sick, parents will send the child to school anyway, hoping a school nurse will be able to treat the problem.

Teachers and principals in the closely monitored program also are finding that life in a fish bowl is stressful. The program's teaching requirements, with emphasis on active, experiential-based learning, while more effective, is also more demanding.

"I saw a lot of early burnout," Roberta Woodson, principal of the 112th Street School, said shortly after the program's first winter break began. "There are going to be people who drop from this. They've gone through some disillusionment. The reality is that there are some very needy [children] here."

Still, Woodson, Piligian, Smith and Moore remain enthusiastic about the program. "They've made it a tremendous success up to this point," says Moore.



Victims of police spying struggle to discover what's in their files

By Dave Lindorff

NEW YORK

EVER SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II, urban police departments around the country have been running their own "red squads"—intelligence units set up to spy on the political activities of local citizens. But in 1971 a group of red squad victims in New York City took the historic step of suing the New York Police Department (NYPD)—a move that was quickly followed in other cities, from Philadelphia and Chicago to Memphis and Los Angeles.

Most of those cases were settled over the last decade. But ironically, the final outcome of the original New York case—*Handschu vs. Special Services Division*—remains up in the air.

Just over a year ago, it had seemed that the New York case had finally been resolved. In December 1986, after years of legal wrangling, a historic out-of-court settlement between the city and plaintiffs finally went into effect. Under its terms the NYPD agreed to end political spying and, equally important, to allow, for one year, any presumed victims of police spying to request unrestricted access to their files. Any member of a defunct political organization, under the settlement's terms, could also seek access to the entire organization's file during that one-year period.

On paper it sounded like a great victory for opponents of police spying. The reality has been something else, and provides an object lesson for those in other parts of the country who may be fighting red squad activities in their communities.

Though hundreds of people had applied for their files by last November under the settlement's terms, only a handful had received any significant information. Meanwhile, reports surfaced in the New York media this summer that police were spying

anew—this time on as many as 200 local black leaders and activists as well as monitoring at least one black radio station, WLJB—and compiling files on the political comments of black leaders interviewed on talk shows. And even though a court-ordered investigation exonerated the NYPD of impropriety in the latest spying incidents, police documents suggest there was a cover-up.

At any rate, the delays in police response to requests for files by last November reached the stage where the plaintiffs in the spying cases were ready to seek a contempt judgment. At that point, the police decided to back down and an agreement was hammered out that would extend the Dec. 1, 1987, deadline until at least January 20. The police also agreed to search their files again for

The New York case demonstrates both how spying by local police has continued, and how difficult it is to control.

those who had previously applied. That secondary agreement—actually a promise to abide by the original court order—didn't stop the plaintiffs from filing a motion to have the court hold the police in contempt for the summer spying episode.

Uphill battle: It was another battle for a struggling coalition called the Committee Opposed to Police Spying (COPS), which has had a difficult fight to restrain one of the nation's largest local police spying operations. In part, this is a tribute to the stubbornly dilatory tactics of the police and city attorneys.

But there were other problems: weak community organizing left COPS overly depen-

dent on local media for publicizing the case. So when the media ignored the issue, the plaintiffs were left with nothing. Bitter disagreement in 1986 over whether to settle the case or go to trial also demoralized COPS members, though there has been an effort to rally together and make the settlement work.

Even now, many past and present police targets seem unaware that their files are—at least legally—available for inspection. This contrasts sharply with the way opponents of spying handled their case in Los Angeles, where a large noisy coalition supported the legal case in the streets and managed to spark considerable media attention.

One thing is clear: The 1986 settlement did not end police spying in New York. In a way it's just beginning. The new deadline extension for requesting dossiers, and a more serious effort by police to search their files, may finally start to present a clear picture of police spying and harassment in New York City.

The New York case demonstrates both how spying by local police has continued since the Watergate reform era, and how difficult it is to limit or control.

Stall tactics: Abbie Hoffman was one of the first people to walk into police headquarters in December 1986 to demand his file when the settlement was announced. But the former Yippie leader has yet to receive anything. "I know they have a file on me—my FBI file goes back to 1962," he says. "How long can they take?" Hoffman's theory is that the police have a motive for their delays beyond simple harassment.

"They're holding back release until after the deadline," he says, "to avoid creating any publicity about the settlement. After the deadline, when people like me get our files, there will be stories about what's in them, and about the settlement, but it will be too

late for other people to apply. The police don't want 100,000 people coming in and demanding their files."

Some in New York did eventually obtain their files, but the gaps in them make them nearly useless. Bob Feldman obtained some 877 pages of files when he asked for the dossier on Columbia University Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), but got nothing for April and May, 1968, the time the city police stormed and occupied the Columbia campus. Ex-Black Panther Sam Anderson got some files, but wonders why they stop in 1969, about the time that police harassment of the Black Panther Party began in earnest.

But even the released files are alarming. Anderson's documents provide circumstantial evidence suggesting that the police were behind his apparent blacklisting at the City University, where he had been a math instructor in 1968. And Feldman's SDS files show that in 1970 red squad cops sought to intimidate a reporter for a small community paper in Manhattan by interrogating him in front of his editor and in the presence of an agent of the U.S. Secret Service. The issue: an article he wrote on the Weathermen. The police also kept tabs on reporters for alternative media outlets like the *Village Voice* and radio station WBAI.

The SDS file also contains communications between police departments, confirming long-held suspicions on the left that local police departments acted as a second tier of a national domestic spying apparatus under the one run by the FBI.

Return of the red squads: A new round of disclosure of past red squad abuses in New York, the summer spying incident, as well as a case of spying and infiltration of protest groups in Philadelphia by that city's police during the Constitution celebration last summer—an incident so full of irony that it would take someone with Judge Robert Bork's obtuse legal mind to imagine anything more offensive to the intent of the Founding Fathers—should remind Americans that, after a decade of lying low, local police red squads are back.

"The reason there was no local spying during the Reagan era was that there were all these lawsuits. Local governments were embarrassed," says Frank Donner, author of *The Legacy of Haymarket: Police Repression in Urban America from 1876 to the Present*. "The political left was quiet so there was no real pretext for police spying. [But] our protection against spying is very fragile, and as a political upsurge on the left develops, the local constraints [on renewed spying] will be overwhelmed. And the Reagan administration has created a climate in which such a renewal is highly likely."

Says Paul Chevigny, one of the lead attorneys in the New York *Handschu* case, "None of the court settlements and administrative agreements will stop police spying. We're in the hands of a security state and I don't know whether we can ever get out of it. The public needs to be alarmed."

What is needed now, say Chevigny and others in New York, is for anyone who suspects he or she might have been spied on or belonged to a group that was spied on to request their dossier before the deadline passes. Those interested in obtaining their files, according to organizers, should contact COPS at 145 W. Fourth St., New York, NY 10012, or call (212) 477-0022.

Dave Lindorff is a New York-based writer. His own efforts to obtain his files from the New York police have, as of press time, been fruitless.

By Jim Naureckas

Death squad strategy was made in U.S.A.

OVER THE PAST TWO MONTHS, LATIN American death squads have been in the news. Haitian voters were shot down by Tonton Macoutes, armed thugs with links to both the deposed dictator and the current military regime. In Colombia, a campaign of assassination has killed more than 500 members of the left opposition party. Dozens of prominent Chilean actors have been subjected to death threats. Hopes for political negotiations in El Salvador were crushed by the murder of a human rights leader.

These stories have usually been treated as isolated incidents, or perhaps as symbols of the insanity that reigns south of the border. But the death squads are part of a concerted and highly successful region-wide strategy, the principles of which were developed and disseminated by the U.S. military and intelligence network.

Although most closely identified with El Salvador, death squads have actually been active from Mexico to Argentina. In pure form, they are supposedly independent groups consisting of off-duty soldiers and police officers working under the close direction of a government. Regular security forces also perform death-squad style killings, and in many countries are responsible for the bulk of "disappearances."

Some death squads, like those in El Salvador and Guatemala, have killed indiscriminately, trying to "dry up the sea" of opposition sympathizers. Other groups have chosen their victims more carefully, aiming to decapitate a movement rather than exterminate every member. "They have eliminated a generation of dissident leaders at practically no cost," says Larry Birns, who heads Washington's Council on Hemispheric Affairs.

For Latin American governments, the value of quasi-official death squads is the deniability it gives the formal government—human rights abuses can be ascribed to "extremists of the left and right," in President Reagan's memorable phrase. The U.S. government is doubly insulated, as it can deny responsibility for its client states as they deny responsibility for the death squads.

But the U.S. relationship to Latin American security forces, documented in such works as Edward Herman's *The Real Terror Network* and Michael McClintock's *The American Connection*, suggests that Washington shares a large measure of blame for the death squads' toll.

The history: The idea of the death squad was suggested in 1962 by U.S. Gen. William Yarborough, head of the Special Warfare Center at Fort Bragg. In a report on counterinsurgency in Colombia, he urged security forces to "select civilian and military personnel for clandestine training" in order to create a new type of unit that would "execute paramilitary, sabotage and/or terrorist activities against known Communist proponents."

This theory became practice, not in Latin America, but in Vietnam, through an operation known as the Phoenix Program.

Known in Vietnamese as Phung Hoang, or "All-Seeing Bird," the operation was designed to identify and "neutralize" opponents of the U.S.-backed South Vietnamese regime. In 1971 the CIA acknowledged the deaths of at least 20,000 suspected Viet Cong

sympathizers—other estimates go as high as 100,000—and thousands more were captured and tortured at "Provincial Interrogation Centers."

Some assassinations were carried out by the U.S. Navy's elite SEAL commandos, but

HUMAN RIGHTS

more often the CIA used native Vietnamese, formed into "Counter-Terror Teams." Phoenix was one of the U.S.'s more successful operations: Years later, Vietnam's foreign minister told journalist Seymour Hersh that the program eliminated more than 95 percent of Viet Cong cadre in some provinces.

Over the next two decades, death squads began what was essentially a Phoenix Program for Latin America, operating in such countries as Brazil, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Uruguay, Somoza's Nicaragua, Chile, Argentina and Haiti. The security forces of all these countries were trained by the U.S. and were supplied by U.S. military aid. One training program, operated by the U.S.' Office of Public Safety, seems to have made a particular impression on the Latin American police forces.

A division of the Agency for International Development (AID), the Office for Public Safety was formed in 1962 with a mandate to train foreign police forces to "counter communist-inspired or -exploited subversion and insurgency." While some Public Safety training involved bona fide law enforcement, the core of the program schooled foreign police in "detecting and identifying individuals and organizations engaged in subversive insurgency in its incipient state," in the words of the report that set up the program.

Secret partner: The CIA was Public Safety's secret partner, starting with the office's director, Byron Engle, who was originally the CIA's representative to an ad hoc police assistance committee. CIA agents were integrated into Public Safety training programs as "investigative advisers." Some of the Public Safety advisers in Guatemala, considered the first country where disappearances were used on a large scale, had previously worked in the Phoenix Program.

Charges that the CIA was teaching Latin American police how to torture, along with revelations of a CIA bomb-making school in Texas, led to a congressional shutdown of the Public Safety program in 1974. By that year, however, most Latin American countries had death squads, drawing their personnel from the ranks of U.S.-trained military and police forces. At least until the Carter administration, countries that used death squads to carry out systematic assassination of opponents were rewarded with U.S. economic assistance and military aid.

Death squads reached a height of sorts in 1976 with the formation of what the Argentine National Commission on the Disappeared described as a "multi-national" repressive apparatus. Under a plan known as Operation Condor, six South American countries—Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia—agreed to monitor each others' exiles and to allow open access to the security forces of each nation for the purpose of kidnapping and assassination.

Operation Condor was the brainchild of DINA, Chile's secret police. DINA provided a computerized register of known dissidents throughout the region. By 1977, AID had delivered computers to DINA financed through AID's agricultural assistance budget.

Carter's human rights policies put some distance between the U.S. and the grossest abusers of human rights. But that distance was quickly eliminated under Reagan; his first chief of staff, convicted perjurer Michael Deaver, had even served as a lobbyist for the Argentine junta.

The U.S. role: The extent to which the CIA and the Pentagon can control the death squads is difficult to measure. The Salvadoran death squads dramatically curtailed their activities in 1983, after George Bush and Oliver North made it clear on a visit to San Salvador that human rights abuses were jeopardizing congressional funding. U.S. leverage was increased by the fact, noted in Bob Woodward's book *Veil*, that the head of the Treasury Police, responsible for many of the killings, was getting \$90,000 a year on the CIA payroll.

Death squads are usually curtailed only after the political opposition they are designed to eliminate has been crushed—or, as in Nicaragua, has succeeded in changing the regime. Only in Argentina have even a handful of those responsible for death squads been prosecuted after the "dirty war" is over.

In its final report, issued in 1984, the Argentine National Commission on the Disappeared quoted from a 1981 interview with Gen. Roberto Viola, then head of the Argentine junta, who declared that an investigation of the security forces was "out of the question." (Viola is one of seven military officers now serving sentences for human rights violations.)

"This is a war and we are the winners," Viola said. "You can be certain that in the last war if the armies of the Reich had won, the war crimes trial would have taken place in Virginia, not in Nuremberg."



A victim of Chilean security forces: The U.S. relationship with Latin American security forces suggests Washington shares blame for death squads.

By Diana Johnstone

BONN

FOR THE GERMAN GREENS, 1988 LOOMS AS A year of self-definition or self-destruction. Or maybe both. The Green Party spent 1987 paralyzed by ideological infighting between "Realos" (as the "realistic" leaders of the party's right wing call themselves) and "Fundis" (as the Realos call the party's left wing). At the end of the year, "Neutralos" and "Centralos" emerged to impose a truce on the warring factions. This spring, the party's 30,000 members will be called upon to settle policy issues in a referendum.

Whether this "centralist" solution works remains to be seen. The method goes against the Realo conviction that prominent leaders like Otto Schily and Joschka Fischer must be freed from the restraints of doctrine.

They would, however, not mind putting restraints on the controversial public statements of Jutta Dittfurth, who sets the Fundi line for the media with as little regard for what other party members think as Fischer or Schily. Dittfurth herself rejects the label Fundi and calls herself a "radical ecologist."

Realos characterize as "Fundis" or "fundamentalists" a mixed bag of party adversaries including various sorts of ecosocialists. The most notoriously annoying to the rest of the party are the Hamburg ex-Marxist-Leninists, whose languid, eloquent and humorous spokesman Thomas Ebermann represents the Fundi current in the Bundestag fraction.

The paradox: In 1987, as green themes flowed into mainstream German politics, the Greens themselves began to seem superfluous. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) now officially calls for phasing out nuclear

Blues for the Greens: Is the party obsolete?

energy. Feminist issues have been taken up so successfully by Christian Democratic Minister for Youth, Family, Women and Health Rita Süssmuth, that in December she was West Germany's second most popular political figure, with 67 percent wishing her a more important role (next to Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, champion of de-

WEST GERMANY

tente). By the end of the year, Reagan and Gorbachov had agreed to scrap the Euromissiles and Bavaria's hard-line anti-Soviet godfather Franz Josef Strauss was back from a jolly time with Mikhail Gorbachov in Moscow proclaiming a "new age" without war.

With all this and more going on, Joschka Fischer could raise the question: "Is there really any more need for the Greens?" His answer is, of course, yes, but only if they stick to ecology and drop radical positions on NATO and other extraneous issues.

In West Germany, the Apocalypse seems to have been postponed indefinitely. Pessimism can no longer be the basis of Green politics: This at least is the view of the most ardent of Realo crusaders, Udo Knapp, who as Bundestag fraction spokeswoman Waltraud Schoppe's co-worker leads the ideological charge against Green fundamentalism in Bonn.

Knapp is convinced that most Green vot-

ers come from "an enlightened middle class that lives relatively well" and above all wants more individual freedom and responsibility. Knapp says that worrying about the end of the world "contradicts my desire to live a happy life."

Knapp is a visionary in his own way. At the start of "a new century of social structuring" comparable to the Renaissance, he sees the need to find a "trial and error" political process that is impeded by left-wing Greens who keep insisting on doctrinal orthodoxy. For Knapp, the Greens are already hopelessly split, and the only way to save the party is to drive "the Fundamentalists and the communist sect priests back where they came from," to their "sectarian circuses."

A couple of years ago, the Realos first made their mark as advocates of compromise in order to achieve government coalition with the Social Democrats. As the red-green coalition has been dropped from everybody's agenda, the Realo attack on the Fundis has become more general and ideological.

Knapp dismisses the idea that disgruntled Realos might go over to the Social Democrats, which he calls an "anti-modernist party, entirely wedded to collectively ensuring the social risks brought on by capitalism." Social democracy is too attached to the state in economic matters, not enough concerned with individual freedom.

The Realo-Fundi strife peaked in 1987 partly because of the general political context in Germany, and partly because certain Realos were out for blood. The example was set by super-Realo Joschka Fischer, the minister of the environment in the unique "red-green" coalition government that brought together Greens and Social Democrats in Hesse in 1986. According to a recent article by Silvio Dahl in the liberal weekly *Die Zeit*, both Fischer and the SPD paid more attention to their internal factional battles than to the coalition, whose collapse a year ago seems to have marked the end of the very idea of a "red-green" West Germany.

However, the redoubtable "Fischer gang" went on last March to defeat their political adversaries within the Green party of Hesse, dominated by the very politicized city of Frankfurt. Since then, Frankfurt's Realo-Fundi strife has taken possession of the whole party, as Fischer's archenemy Dittfurth went from her Hesse defeat to triumph as the leading spokesperson of the party's national board of directors.

Green politics in 1987 was completely dominated by contradictory statements issued by Fischer and Dittfurth, Schily and Ebermann, the mostly Realo Bundestag fraction leadership around Schoppe or the Fundi-dominated national board.

Realo leaders get more sympathetic media coverage and predictably lead the Fundis in popularity points. The December Emnid Institute survey of politicians West Germans "would like to see play a more important role" (published in *Der Spiegel*) gave super-Realo Schily a new high of 37 percent, followed by Fischer with 33 percent. Dittfurth trailed with 20 percent.

The conflict sharpened last fall, when the 10-year anniversary of the "German autumn"

revived the old issue of the left's attitude toward the state. The bloody events of autumn 1977, the kidnapping and eventual murder of German industry leader Hanns Martin Schleyer, the hijacking and recapture in Mogadishu of a Lufthansa jet and the group suicide in Stammheim prison of Andreas Baader and three other leaders of his "Red Army Fraction" (RAF) had created a dark mood of near-paranoid suspicion between the left and the state. Many in the extra-parliamentary left believed the state had murdered Baader and his friends and expected police state persecution of all dissidents.

Renouncing violence: The success of the Green party has been a major factor in convincing most of the left that the Federal Republic is genuinely more democratic than Germany ever was before, that reform is possible and that impulses to build a "resistance" to the state as if it were Nazi Germany are misplaced.

With this in mind, Bundestag Green Antje Vollmer, a Protestant clergywoman with a somewhat pastoral approach to politics, promoted the idea of seeking a dialogue with imprisoned or clandestine RAF members, in view of an eventual amnesty for those who renounce violence. This effort was supported, in a somewhat different vein, by Frankfurt Realo Daniel Cohn-Bendit.

But on October 6 Dittfurth upped the ante, calling for an amnesty for all "political prisoners." Recalling the "German autumn," she maintained that "this state yearned then as it does now for nothing so ardently as 'terror'...in order to distract from its own daily violence."

The statement provoked an uproar. Conservatives accused Dittfurth of justifying radical violence and terrorism. Greens split between those who condemned the statement, or at least took their distance from it, and others who felt obliged to defend Dittfurth even if they thought her statement simplistic and exaggerated.

The quarrel took a dramatic turn when on November 2 two policemen were killed by shots fired from a demonstration at Frankfurt airport commemorating the sixth anniversary of the dismantling of a protest village constructed on the site of the new runway.

Non-violence is a founding principle of the Green party. The shooting of the policemen aroused shock and dismay, and raised the difficult problem of Green responsibility in preventing such violence. Should they stay close to militant groups to preach non-violence, or refuse to have anything to do with them? Which attitude is best able to prevent the conservatives from "criminalizing" demonstrations in general? Greens issued a cacophony of conflicting answers to these difficult questions. When feminist Regina Michalik came out for a "broad show of unity" with Autonomes, Petra Kelly threatened to resign from the party.

Greens all agree on the principle of non-violence. But to the left, the main source of violence is the state, or the system. This may be true in the last analysis, but the last analysis has never been something an electoral party can serve up to the general public and expect to be understood.

Realos demanded that acceptance of "state monopoly of violence" be set up as requirement for Green party membership.

Meanwhile, another controversy broke out. In October Realos Schily, Schoppe and Dietrich Wetzel visited Israel, visibly anxious

Continued on page 22

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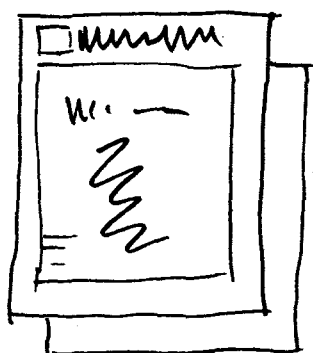
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By Hillel Schenker

TEL AVIV

ARAB UNREST IS NOT A NEW STORY. BACK IN 1936-39 the Palestinian-Arab inhabitants of Palestine carried out waves of violent and non-violent civil disobedience against the British mandatory authorities and against the Jews who were in the process of returning to their ancient homeland to eventually establish what would become known as the State of Israel. Right-wing Israelis still call those events the Arab "riots," "disturbances" or "happenings."

ISRAEL

But most Israeli historians call the 1936-39 events "the Arab rebellion."

Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, understood that the mass civil disobedience of 1936-39 was the expression of a national movement, and that the struggle over the future of the Land of Israel/Palestine was in essence the clash between two sides: the Jewish national movement (Zionism) and the Palestinian-Arab national movement.

Today, 50 years later, Israelis are arguing about how to describe the mass wave of civil disobedience that has taken place in the West Bank and Gaza Strip during the past few weeks. To date, at least 24 Palestinians have been killed, 300 wounded and more than 1,200 arrested in the worst incidents of mass civil disobedience since Israel occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in 1967. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin and others have called the events "riots," "disturbances," etc., but what we are really witnessing is Palestinian national rebellion.

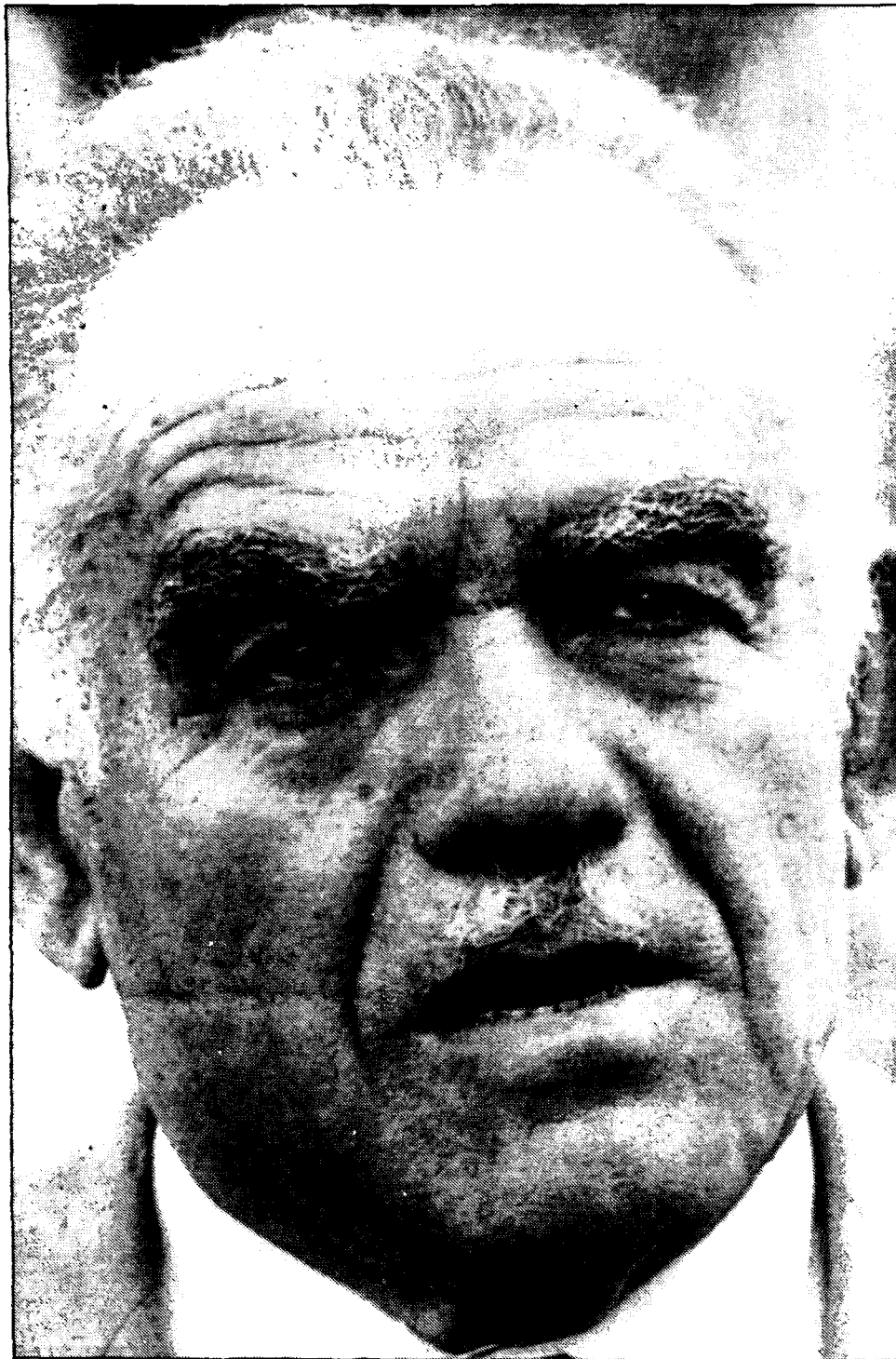
In the words of political satirist Yehonatan Gefen in the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv*, "Tires are burning like Hanukkah candles/ An oppressing nation is facing an oppressed nation/ Attacks, events/ Killed and wounded/ Life is continuing in a gun-powder keg/ But this is not rebellion/ Not rebellion/ Not civil rebellion/ ...It's only the media/ Once again distort the truth...."

History is always filled with surprises when it designates the narrators of its chronicles. The latest surprise witness is Roni Treinin. In his civilian life, he is a kibbutz member and the director of the Givat Haviva Educational Institute run by the Kibbutz Artzi Federation associated with the left-wing *Mapam* Party. Like almost all Israeli males, he serves in the reserves of the Israeli army approximately one month each year. He is a division commander with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Fate had it that his unit was assigned to the Gaza Strip in December, and he was released in time to appear at a Peace Now rally in Jerusalem on Saturday, Dec. 26, 1987, which was called to protest Israeli policy in the occupied territories.

"The flames of a nation": It is worth quoting extensively from Treinin's address, in order to get a sense of the reality in the Gaza Strip today. "When I look back at four weeks of service in the Gaza Strip, it feels like 40 years. The days were like eternity. Days of conflagration...facing the stormy masses, filled with frenzy. I saw a generation of three-year-olds who have not yet seen a classroom, but who have already learned how to throw rocks and burn tires. Before having learned to build a scout campfire they have learned how to create a flaming barricade...."

"I met young Israeli soldiers who helped to take a pregnant mother to a hospital while

Violence in occupied territories signals more tragedy on horizon



Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir recently said that perhaps the foreign and Israeli media shouldn't be allowed to cover events in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

at the same time arresting her sons. These same soldiers find it difficult to distinguish between an enemy, who is trying to kill them, and simple civilians, who just hate them. I encountered hundreds of flying rocks that provoked and hit the heads of soldiers, and smashed car windows.... I met soldiers who do not yet have beards on their faces who are shaming the values of their grandfathers. I saw closed stores, a general strike, and the radio announced that this is not civil rebellion....

"I fired in front of the feet of bottle-throwers, and they shouted at me—that's not how you aim a gun. I saw a young leadership evolving, with chaos the victor. I saw fathers and sons, together, evacuating women,

throwing tear-gas grenades, and hanging their heads in the corners. I saw a city in flames, covered with smoke, stench and lava: the flames of a nation, of rebellion, not the flames of cannon, not bombs from jets, but flames that are an expression, flames that are a provocation.

"I saw the lighting of the first Hanukkah candle in a city that became one big menorah. I met frightened people, Jews and Arabs, young and old, frightened of the shooting, of the Molotov cocktails, of the loss of control, of the unknown...."

"I am a witness for an entire generation whose soul has been scarred. Confronted by escalation and extremism, *Jihad* (Islamic holy war) will grow, the Palestinian Libera-

tion Organization (PLO) will commit more acts of terror, Kahane will gain in strength and emigration will increase.... We must liberate the Israeli army from all of this. A political solution is a most urgent necessity. Statesmen, please hurry...."

Looking for answers: Unfortunately, Israel's political leaders are busy blaming the media and outside agitators (i.e., the PLO) for the current situation. Prime Minister Shamir, taking a page from Reagan's Grenada book and Margaret Thatcher's Falklands/Malvinas book, suggests that perhaps the foreign and Israeli media shouldn't be allowed to cover events in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Defense Minister Rabin admits that Israel has an image problem, while newly elected chairman of the World Zionist Organization (former Israeli ambassador to the U.S.) Simcha Dinitz sends information kits around the world to improve Israel's public relations.

The problem isn't the image reflected in the media in Israel and throughout the world. It's the reality in the field. The problem isn't the lack of good PR. It's the lack of good policy.

It makes no difference whether the mass civil disobedience was organized by the PLO or spontaneously generated, but just to set the record straight, the current wave of civil disobedience was spontaneous. It began with the terrorist stabbing of an Israeli merchant in the Gaza City marketplace in the beginning of December.

A week later four Gazan workers were killed in a crash with an Israeli vehicle, which was perceived by the residents of Gaza as "revenge" for the death of the Israeli merchant. The response of the 600,000 Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, who live in a constant state of deprivation and frustration, was to begin the wave of civil disobedience that "set the Strip on fire."

No end in sight: More troops can be poured into the occupied territories, and cleaner, non-lethal methods of riot-control can be activated. But as long as the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip continues, as long as Israel continues to rule over approximately 1.5 million Palestinians against their will, and as long as a political solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict isn't found, civil disobedience will continue.

It will rise and fall, like the tides, but it will not disappear. Both Israelis and Palestinians will be further brutalized, and extremists will replace moderates on both sides.

Both Israeli and Palestinian leaders share some of the responsibility for the current violent and tragic impasse. Neither have demonstrated the political courage nor have they come forth with the type of realistic political program necessary to help move the Mideast toward a peaceful political settlement. Both Israeli and Palestinian leaders would do well if they would heed Roni Treinin's words in Jerusalem, when he begged, "A political solution is a most urgent necessity. Statesmen, please hurry...." □

Next week: American-Jewish response to the Palestinian uprising.

Hillel Schenker is an editor of the Israeli English-language magazine *New Outlook* and is a regular contributor to *In These Times*.

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As Arab unrest continues, the problem isn't the image reflected in the media in Israel and throughout the world. It's the reality in the field. The problem isn't the lack of good PR, it's the lack of good policy.

The U.S. Army insisted on building the road in a river valley, despite Ecuadoran objections.

BLAZI-

classifying this work as "training," the Reagan administration has found a convenient way to circumvent congressional approval for their deployment.

The use of National Guard troops to implement a questionable foreign policy has alarmed many state governors. Last year seven of them publicly stated that if asked to send their troops to Central America they would refuse. The federal government's response to this show of resistance was the Montgomery Amendment, which revoked the power of state governors to deny a request from the federal government to deploy National Guard troops overseas. Attached to a routine budget bill, this amendment received only a 10-minute discussion on the House floor before being passed by a 261-159 vote in August 1986 and was later signed into law. Gov. Rudy Perpich of Minnesota challenged this restriction in court, claiming that it represented a federal encroachment of states' rights. He lost the first round in local court and his appeal to the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals is to be heard in February.

The presence of U.S. troops in Ecuador extends U.S. counterinsurgency policy beyond the Central American conflict by implementing it on the South American continent. Apart from the "training" the National Guard and the Army is receiving in Ecuador, the military is getting on-site, foreign logistical experience in operations conducted in secrecy. The U.S. troops enter and leave the country in their own planes without ever passing through local inspection or customs procedures. Not even the Ecuadoran military that guards the U.S. camp has access to it.

Opening the door: The Pentagon is keeping a sharp eye on the country's two neighbors, Colombia and Peru. Not only are both highly unstable politically, but they also have solidly entrenched guerrilla movements and are centers of international drug production and trade. If the movement in either of these countries begins to succeed, the Pentagon will have easy access to Ecuador. It will know how to enter directly and rapidly, which generals it can rely upon for support and what terrain is waiting for them. Ecuador is being groomed as a possible site for the making of "Honduras II" and National Guard troops are once again being used as frontmen.

Puerto Rican National Guard troops, with their Latin heritage and Spanish-speaking abilities, are ideally suited to prepare the way for a long-term U.S. military presence by reducing its "foreignness." It is not surprising then that Puerto Rican troops have been used heavily in this stint in Ecuador nor that the Army officially denies that they are even there.

Regardless of where they come from, the troops have created a climate of mistrust, anger and fear among the local population. One Archidona shopkeeper states emphatically that the U.S. troops were taking out samples of plutonium, uranium and iridium, citing a document found in the trash of the Army camp as his evidence. The townspeople are also upset about the negative impact the troops have had on



By Paul Little

ARCHIDONA, ECUADOR

THE PRESENCE OF U.S. ARMY AND NATIONAL Guard troops in Ecuador last year is a non-secret that no one seems to know about. Their arrival last May in the country's mineral-rich Amazonian jungle territory is one example of the U.S. military's quiet expansion of its Latin American operations that has major implications for future U.S. involvement in the region.

Seven thousand National Guard troops rotated in and out of Ecuador last year in groups of 600 to 800 per two-week duty. These troops came from Puerto Rico and the Southeastern U.S. and included some of the same units that participated in the Blazing Trails and Kindle Liberty war games held in Panama in 1985. Blazing Trails is also the name of the Ecuadoran operation and is the first major use of National Guard troops on the South American continent. In addition, the troops were supervised by at least 78 U.S. Army, Navy, Marine and Air Force regulars, making it one of the largest U.S. military contingents operating in South America.

The troops were ostensibly in Ecuador to build a road connecting with the rest of the country several jungle towns that had been cut off from basic supplies and services by the devastating earthquake that rocked Ecuador last March 4. The offer to send U.S. troops and machinery to build this road in a six-month operation was made by Vice President George Bush during his whirlwind four-and-a-half-hour visit to Quito, the nation's capital, shortly after the quake. Ecuadoran President Leon Febres Cordero, a millionaire businessman and one of President Reagan's staunchest supporters in

Latin America, willingly accepted the offer.

Problems arose, however, in the negotiations between the Ecuadoran government and the U.S. Army about the route of the road. The local Ministry of Public Works selected a 25-kilometer stretch of jungle as the best site for the new road. The Army balked at this proposal, claiming that the terrain was too rocky. Instead it insisted on building a 65-kilometer road along a river valley that the Ministry of Public Works claimed was on soft terrain. The solution to this impasse was to build two roads parallel to each other that start and finish at virtually the same place: one built by Ecuadorans and the other by the U.S. Army.

The Americans arrive: Last May 15 hundreds of Army regulars and National Guardsmen arrived at the quiet jungle town of Archidona to set up camp. They shipped in hundreds of heavy machines, earth-movers and bulldozers that were inappropriate for the soft jungle soil and that regularly sank in the mud. The torrential jungle rains that came afterward merely added to the problem.

When the pre-allotted six months expired on November 15—after more than 800,000 man-hours of labor—the U.S. troops had completed only six of the projected 65 kilometers of road. But the Ecuadoran crew building the parallel road completed the 25-kilometer stretch on September 30, reuniting the isolated jungle towns with the rest of the country and thereby rendering unnecessary the Army's six-kilometer road that leads to a dead end in the jungle.

The troops left last month, though U.S. Ambassador to Ecuador Fernando Rondon has announced that the troops are willing to come back to finish the project. At their current rate of work, it would take at least

five years to build the road. Soldiers at the army encampment in Archidona indicated that the troops could be back early this year to continue the job depending upon who wins the Ecuadoran presidential elections at the end of the month.

This pattern of inefficiency repeats the experience of yet another Blazing Trails project in Honduras. The U.S. National Guard began building a short road in central Honduras three years ago and, though thousands of troops early this year moved in and out of the project, it is still not finished and they plan to continue construction through 1988. These are part of the 63,000 National Guard troops that have been sent to Central America since 1975.

The use of National Guard troops for what are apparently "humanitarian" projects is an integral part of the "low-intensity conflict" strategy being implemented by the Pentagon in Latin America. The civic action units, public relations officers and medical teams that have accompanied the Guard troops building this road are part of an effort to "win the hearts and minds" of the local population.

Changing role: Peggy Moore, coordinator of the National Guard Clearinghouse in St. Louis, explains, "The role of the National Guard has changed dramatically in recent years. Today National Guard units have ceased to be mere state militias and are being fully integrated into the larger military infrastructure. The real business of the guard troops in Central America is counterinsurgency and the U.S. militarization of the region."

The importance of this development is highlighted by the fact that 46 percent of the U.S. Army's total combat strength is made up of Guard troops. Furthermore, by

JG A ROAD TO NOWHERE

their town.

They have attracted prostitutes from all parts of the country who make fast and good money. According to the local grapevine, these women receive up to \$30 per customer—or nearly half the \$65 basic monthly income of an Ecuadorian factory worker. The townspeople are also concerned about the spread of sexually-transmitted diseases, especially AIDS.

Last October the big rumor around town concerned an alleged battle between Ecuadorian police and Colombian guerrillas in a nearby jungle area. No one seemed to have any hard facts, but hearsay alone caused panic in the U.S. camp command. Soldiers were prohibited from going into town for three days. Fear of the guerrillas led to a farcical situation: the Ecuadorian army surrounded the camp to protect the U.S. Army from what turned out to be two armed bandits.

Local opposition: A key difference between Ecuador's Blazing Trails project and its Honduran counterpart is that the Ecuadorans have protested the U.S. military presence from its inception. The opposition-controlled Ecuadorian Congress debated the issue of the U.S. troops in the country and concluded that they represented a "direct violation of the sovereignty of Ecuador." In a majority vote lawmakers expelled the troops from the country, but this proved to be yet another ineffectual gesture against an authoritarian and all-powerful executive. The president simply ignored the congress-

sional expulsion and the troops stayed.

A Committee for National Sovereignty has been formed by more than 20 youth, Christian and women's organizations to oppose the U.S. Army's occupation of part of their territory. The group launched a petition drive calling for the immediate removal of the troops from Ecuador and spearheaded a large *comparsa* (masquerade march) in protest to their presence. In addition, anti-American graffiti has multiplied many times over and, in one form or another, carries that age-old Latin American message: Yankee Go Home.

In the name of development: The intensity of this resistance is the result of a long history of U.S. imperialism in Ecuador that has focused upon the country's extensive Amazonian jungle territory. Though it is a sparsely populated area, it has great geographical importance, is rich in strategic minerals and offers enormous profit-making possibilities. The majority of Ecuador's oil, which accounts for more than 65 percent of its export income, is in the region. The nation's free-market-oriented president, Febres Cordero, has sharply limited the role of CEPE, the national oil consortium, in new oil exploration. The jungle has been divided up and auctioned off to foreign oil companies, most of them American, which are aggressively making oil explorations and will be the owners of whatever oil they find.

African palm tree plantations offer foreign investors yet another get-rich-quick

scheme. By clear-cutting the jungle and planting African palm, they can make exorbitant profits in the short term by selling palm oil on the international market. In the long term, however, the trees' oily content contaminates the soil and the rivers, thereby destroying fish, animals and vegetation and leaving the fragile jungle ecosystem in shambles.

This blind exploitation of the Amazon basin, done in the name of "development," has had an even more devastating impact on the areas' Indian tribes. Ecuador's jungle tribes, as with those in most parts of the Amazon basin, still live a life closely tied to the land. A small band of Indians lives by hunting, fishing, gathering and seasonal planting over a wide area of jungle that for centuries has been their homeland. The Ecuadorian government does not recognize these historical claims to the land and classifies any uncultivated jungle land as "vacant," which gives them the "right" to sell it to oil companies, foreign investors or mestizo settlers. This pushes the Indian tribes farther into the jungle in search of subsistence.

"Obstacles" to progress: As part of their development strategy, the government has sought to "civilize" these Indian tribes so that they can be "integrated into the national life." This effort is spearheaded by the numerous evangelical sects that have been introduced into the country and especially into its jungle areas. More than 400 religious sects are currently operating in

Ecuador and their presence has become an issue of national concern.

The evangelicals' work with Amazonian tribes, apart from Christianizing them, also seeks to "Westernize" them. The introduction of manufactured goods and modern clothes attempts to integrate them into the nation's consumer market while the propagation of individualist ideologies tries to change their communal ways, which are seen as an obstacle to progress.

These sects have deeply divided Indian communities and have been widely denounced by Amazonian Indian organizations. One of the oldest and largest of these sects, the Summer Institute of Linguistics based in California, was expelled from the country in 1981 for "working against the national interest." They have recently been allowed to re-enter the country with the blessing of President Febres Cordero.

Expanding "democracy": The deployment of U.S. troops to Ecuador's Amazon jungle is an alarming new expansion of the Pentagon's militarization of Latin America. Yet at the same time it continues a broader policy geared toward increasing U.S. corporate penetration in this vital area of the world. Providing earthquake relief has proved an excellent pretext for this policy, and all Ecuador has to show for it is a six-kilometer road to nowhere. □

Paul Little is a free-lance journalist and development specialist. He has lived in Ecuador the past four years.

Unwelcome guests: the U.S. Army camp in Archidona.



Paul Little

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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GAZA:
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 ROCK YESTERDAY.
 GOLIATH HAD TO SHOOT HIM.



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Now they just open their shirts and say 'kill me'

Israeli officials—and American Jewish leaders—insist that the current Palestinian demonstrations in the occupied Gaza Strip and the West Bank are the work of PLO guerrillas stirring up a contented Palestinian majority. But in fact a civil war is now in progress, and to deny it can have only one effect: a continuing escalation of hostility and violence between Israelis and Palestinians, both in the occupied territories and in Israel itself.

For 20 years—ever since the occupied territories were taken in the 1967 war—Palestinians have been fighting for a homeland and Israeli society has been disrupted by increasing militarization. For several years, the PLO has indicated that it would recognize Israel and negotiate about its legitimate security concerns, if only Israel would recognize the Palestinians' right to their own state on the West Bank and Gaza. These suggestions have been ignored, both in Israel and, by and large, by the American media. Instead, both the Israeli government and successive American administrations have treated the PLO as an outlaw organization of "terrorists."

But the PLO is the only organization Palestinians look to as their representative. Its policies have been supported by the vast majority within the occupied territories. This is indicated by the fact that most violent demonstrations by Palestinians, especially in the past 10 years, have been internally generated and spontaneous. Between 1977 and 1982, such incidents averaged about 500 a year. But since the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the expulsion of the PLO from Beirut, these incidents have increased to 3,000 a year. Further, from 1977 to 1984 there were 11 internally generated demonstrations for every external attack by the PLO, and this ratio increased to 16 to 1 in 1985 and 18 to 1 in 1986.

As Meron Benvenisti, director of the West Bank Data Project, which monitors Israeli-Palestinian relations, says, voluntary Palestinian violence is increasing. Now it is "largely carried out in broad daylight by individuals and groups who spontaneously express their feelings, undeterred by the consequences of their actions." According to Benvenisti, the increase in killings shows the rising frustration level of the occupiers and the occupied. "Before," he writes, "the Palestinians were afraid of the Israeli soldiers, but they are not anymore."

"Now they just open their shirts and say, 'Kill me,' and the soldiers feel that is a good excuse to do just that."

Israeli insistence that Palestinian violence is the work of PLO

agents stirring up an essentially happy population allows the government to pretend that protestors' grievances are individual or unrepresentative. But even if these demonstrations were not spontaneous, if they were the work of "outside agitators," the very success of the PLO in moving such a large number of their people to action would give the lie to the claim that it does not represent the Palestinian majority. Either way, whether spontaneous or PLO-led, the demonstrations show the futility of Israeli policy toward the occupied territories, the Palestinian people and the organization with which the great majority identify.

The tragedy is that the Israelis seem incapable of facing this reality, even though it is threatening to tear their nation apart. Israel has become a nation of 3.5 million Jews and 2.1 million hostile Palestinians. The Palestinians are in the occupied territories to stay. Their numbers are growing, as is their determination to have a state of their own. Since they recognize the PLO as their only representative, Israel must accept this truth and be willing to negotiate with its enemy. That's the only way to end an unwinnable war.

But it is difficult to see how this change in Israeli policy can come about. The stake of both the Likud and Labor parties in maintaining an attitude of intransigent hostility to the PLO seems to make negotiations a political impossibility. And there seems to be no other internal political force capable of leading the nation to negotiations and peace. The one hope now appears to lie in international action that would guarantee Israeli security and supervise the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza. And the best hope of getting Israel to accept such a solution is political pressure from the United States, especially from the American Jewish community.

Traditionally, of course, American Jews have supported Israel blindly, believing that any criticism of its government would undermine the nation. This is now changing as the futility of the nation's policy toward the Palestinians becomes increasingly difficult to deny. A change in the attitude of the American Jewish community to one that supports negotiations with the PLO could force a change in American policy, which has been to give upward of \$3 billion a year in aid to Israel.

Making that aid—and the implicit guarantee of Israeli security that it represents—conditional on a change in Israel's Palestinian policy could create a situation in which one or both the major Israeli parties would be willing to endorse an internationally supervised settlement on terms acceptable to the Palestinians.

This is a tall order, but because it appears to offer the only way to save Israel from endless civil war and the continuing erosion of its founding ideals, more and more American Jews will take this path. The sooner they do, the better for both sides in the Mideast.

LETTERS

DSA in '88

JOEL BLEIFUSS' ARTICLE ON THE RECENT DEMOCRATIC Socialists of America (DSA) convention in Washington, D.C. (ITT, Dec. 16, 1987), focused exclusively on the differences between the caucuses. Missing was any assessment of what DSA has accomplished over the past two years and the course we charted for the future.

Permit me to fill in a few blanks.

The DSA Political Action Committee endorsed Jesse Jackson for the Democratic presidential nod with a 93 percent majority. DSA also committed itself to working within the broad democratic left to elect the most progressive candidate running on the most progressive issues possible so as to beat the Republicans come November. This work in building a solid progressive Democratic response to the failure of the Reagan "revolution" is a logical outgrowth of DSA activity over the past couple of years, including Democratic Alternatives conferences in Washington, Kansas City, Albany and Chicago.

Building on our important role in helping to bring together labor and the churches for last April 25 mass mobilization in Washington on U.S. foreign policy, DSA continues to work on the national level and at the grass-roots to oppose all aid to the contras, support the Arias plan and demonstrate our solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

In 1987, DSA concentrated on highlighting U.S. poverty and its structural causes through the mass media and grass-roots activities. In 1988 we'll inaugurate an educational agitational effort around economic justice issues. We'll be leading with what should be the strong suit of any socialist movement—nitty-gritty economic issues of concern to the broad democratic left. That means plant closings, full employment, progressive taxation, child care, health care and the like. In addition, the DSA Labor Commission, made up of activists from dozens of unions, was strengthened to further advance our work on all levels of the trade union movement. Our Religion and Socialism Commission will be hosting a major conference in Chicago around Memorial Day, 1988, and our Feminist Commission will host a spring retreat in the Midwest.

With unity on these vital issues, with a newly-elected leadership and with the possibility of new opportunities in the soon-to-be post-Reagan era, DSA will continue to build the democratic socialist movement and the broader democratic left. We invite ITT readers who are not yet members to sign on.

Keep up the great work, ITT!

Patrick Lacefield
Organizational Director
Democratic Socialists of America
New York

Sectarian

JOEL BLEIFUSS' ARTICLE ON THE DEMOCRATIC Socialists of America (DSA) national convention (ITT, Dec. 16, 1987) distorts the differences between the Socialist Agenda and the Socialist Unity slates. As a delegate from Philadelphia and a failed candidate for the National Executive Committee (NEC) on the Socialist Agenda slate, I would like to set the record straight.

Sectarianism was indeed a major issue at the convention. The national leadership of DSA has had a sectarian attitude toward

the Rainbow Coalition and the Jackson campaign for years. Much of the national leadership, including many of the Socialist Unity slate for the NEC, has been dragged kicking and screaming into finally endorsing Jackson. In fact, many of the new NEC members opposed endorsement and, along with Irving Howe, continue to offer threats of distancing themselves from the organization because of the endorsement. This is ironic for the only left organization in the country that has consistently preferred the theory that work in the Democratic Party was important. Contrary to Bleifuss' contention that Socialist Agenda was ready to "forsake DSA's allegiance to the Democratic Party," we were in fact the ones arguing that DSA has watched on the sidelines while the most dynamic left-wing that has ever existed in the Democratic Party took form.

Both sides agreed that DSA should continue to offer criticisms of the Nicaraguan revolutionary process where such criticisms were appropriate. Socialist Agenda merely pointed out that the proper context of such criticism, solidarity with the revolutionary process, has been eroding in DSA's publications. The increasingly sectarian and arrogant tone of Democratic left and of some official statements by DSA staff toward the Sandinistas has not helped DSA's credibility among those who welcome the general democratic and progressive nature of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Finally, the convention really marked the end of DSA as a broad, multi-tendency organization on the left. A majority of the new leadership clearly favors an organization based around a national office and a few intellectual "stars" that excludes anything remotely representing a left tendency from effective representation. On the final day, in the midst of a plenary discussion on national-local relations, one speaker observed that only five of the 24 newly elected NEC members were even in the room. Unlike most Socialist Agenda supporters who voted for a multi-tendency NEC (personally, I voted for more of the Socialist Unity than Socialist Agenda candidates), the Socialist Unity slate attempted and almost succeeded in electing a full slate of their endorsed candidates, most of whom have only marginal, if any, contact with DSA locals. The attempt begun in 1982, to establish an organization that would involve the vast majority of those who considered themselves democratic socialists in the U.S., received a serious setback at the convention.

George Dolph
Philadelphia

Negative improvements

THANKS TO JOHN JUDIS (ITT, DEC. 16) FOR POINTING out the problems with the single-minded fixation on reductions in long-range nuclear arsenals that is one of the unfortunate results of the INF treaty debate. A recent Gallup poll adds further evidence of the problem. Sixty-five percent of those interviewed agreed with the statement that "further increases and improvements in nuclear weapons would not give either the U.S. or the Soviet Union a real advantage over the other."

At first glance this seems like good news for the arms control community—people can't be expected to support an ongoing arms buildup if they don't think it serves any purpose. Yet, it also means that the movement is slipping in its task of educating people on the dangers of continued qualitative advances in the two superpower arsenals. We must show people that "improvements" in the accuracy, speed and flight patterns of nuclear weapons can give the side that strikes first enough of an "advantage" to cause very dangerous instability in a time of international crisis. And, of course, we then must prescribe a solution—a comprehensive test ban, a missile flight test ban and indefinite adherence to the anti-ballistic missile treaty.

The president's START talks may make great headlines, but these three policy goals go further toward making the U.S. (and the world) more secure. Together, they would stop the arms race, rather than shifting and disguising the danger.

Craig R. Johnson
Assistant Director
Wisconsin Nuclear Freeze Campaign
Madison, Wis.

Community

AS A TRAINEE WITH M. SCOTT PECK'S FOUNDATION for Community Encouragement, I was glad to read Lawrence Swaim's coverage of Peck (ITT, Dec. 16). I agree that Peck "in six months will influence more people to think about the arms race than the left could in six years." It's also true that without people's eventual commitment to political action in some form, abstract thinking will do little good.

But it is not true that, because "community alone is not enough to change things," Peck's advocacy of community-building is "not part of the solution." Swaim himself refers to the base communities in Latin America, which began with prayer and singing and are now transforming every aspect of the larger society. These communities still pray and sing. It is their tenacious com-

mitment to God and to one another that enables them to flourish in the face of vicious persecution.

I was a radical long before I became a Christian, and the utter lack of community within the secular left as I experienced it almost destroyed me. Nowhere else have I known such betrayal, power-grabbing and hatred. I had a vision of a better world, but I did not find it being lived out within "the movement."

Community-building is indeed a part of the solution—the first part. When we are in unity with one another, then we will have something to offer the world besides legislation. We will be the evidence that a society based on peace and justice is a living possibility.

Stephen Harvester
Wesley United Methodist Church
Lincoln, R.I.

Ethnocentricity

PERHAPS I'M DOING SOMETHING CORRECT. MY freshman college daughter knew of my subscriptions to *Mother Jones* and *Utne Reader*. When she started college in the East and began working in the library, she turned me on to *In These Times*, saying I would like it. She was correct: I look forward to reading it.

I'm writing to respond to Salim Muwakkil's "Deadly tradition in black America." First of all, many will read the article and identify Muwakkil as racist, the story racist and the paper racist. Unfortunately, his point will have been missed. Much black American behavior is derived from a slave experience, which is not a reality to be denied. Slave experience is the heritage of black Americans. Thus the behaviors consist of cherished values and beliefs. Yet while some of those behaviors are appropriate and just, others are destructive.

In regard to eating habits, black Americans have become the oppressors of their own good health. But history is replete with examples of the oppressed subsequently oppressing others. Ethnocentricities are important when others are intent on destroying one's culture, but ethnocentric views are abominable then they interfere with a people's own growth and continued existence.

Lois Smith
Seattle, Wash.

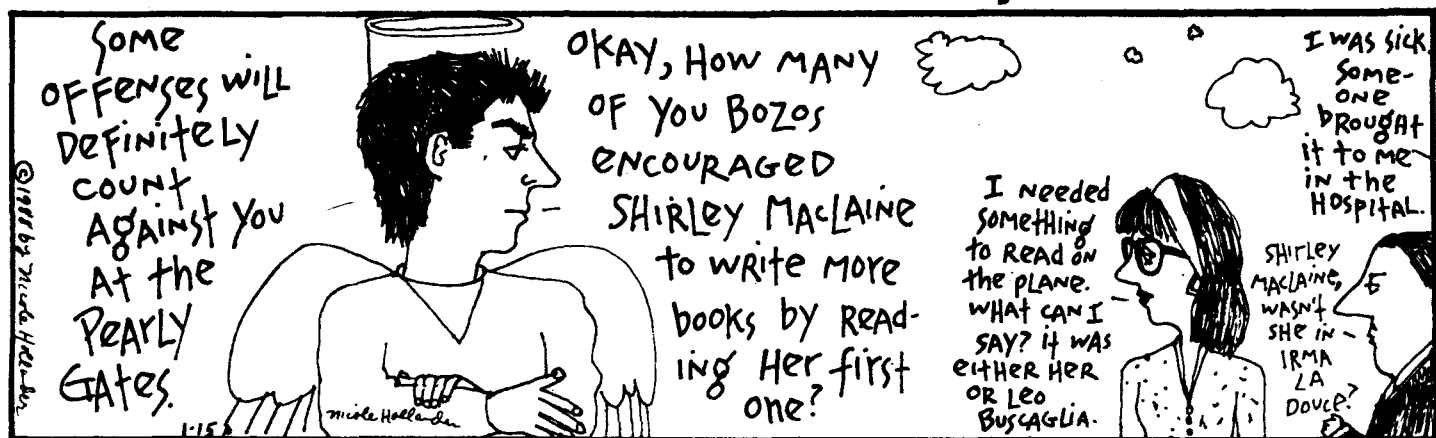
Charting defense

JIM NAURECKAS' "HOW TO PUT THE MILITARY ON an anti-deficit diet" (ITT, Nov. 25) contained a pie-chart showing where the 1986 military budget goes. This chart, printed

Continued on following page

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



Continued from preceding page

without explanation, is very misleading. It looks as though bringing U.S. troops home and the stopping of U.S. policing of the rest of the world would save \$223 billion, or over two-thirds of the approximately \$300 billion Department of Defense (DOD) budget.

While I do not have the 1986 pie-chart from the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy by Howard Morland, I do have his 1985 pie-chart with details of how the pie-slices were determined. Using those details it can be determined that only about \$60 billion was actually spent overseas in foreign countries in 1985 of the approximate \$300 billion budget. Much of the total military money is spent on a type of welfare program for troops stationed in the U.S. but assigned to foreign areas. The military idea is to transport them quickly in the event they might be needed for something.

Naureckas should have explained a little bit more than he did along these lines in his article. The pie-chart tending to indicate that all that money is being spent overseas is simply not the case. I don't mean to imply that Naureckas intended to give that impression. The point is that without some such explanation of the chart it isn't very useful.

Sheldon C. Plotkin
Los Angeles

Jim Naureckas replies: The article that accompanied the chart noted that Morland's spending breakdown included troops designated to be airlifted overseas. The point of the chart is not how much of the Pentagon's budget is spent abroad, but rather that defense of the U.S. does not require the enormous budget we now have.

Sunk so low

NOTICE IN THREE RECENT EDITIONS OF *IN THESE Times* an advertisement for the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW). While I am 100 percent for democratically run unions I am unalterably opposed to William Wynn and his gang of thugs who run the UFCW. While there can be argument about the tactics employed by the UFCW during the Hormel P-9 strike, tactics that I feel sold the P-9 workers out, there can be no condoning of Wynn's gun-toting thugs who attempted to intimidate Jim Guyette and several others who were attempting to leaflet delegates attending the AFL-CIO convention in Florida.

If your need for funds is so desperate

may I suggest that you contact the Farouk of gangster-run unions, Jackie Presser of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

My confidence in your integrity has sunk so low that I will not renew my subscription to your paper.

Bill Slater
Lakeport, Calif.

Uncovered?

IT'S IN ORDER THAT THE COLUMNS OF *IN THESE Times* should be open to labor organizations wishing to advertise their messages to the public. I am surprised, however, that you should publish the series signed by William Wynn of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) without correcting or challenging some of the more blatant falsehoods in the series.

I have seen only one item in *ITT*—on the movement of the Canadian fishermen to leave that union—that seemed to challenge some of Wynn's claims.

One of the advertisements boasted of the union's concern for low-paid workers. The meat packers at the Hormel plant at Austin, Minn., could not be called low-paid workers, but Wynn did his best in that direction. When, after a series of concessions to management, they went on strike in rejection of additional demands, Wynn ordered them back to work. When they voted to reject his order, he went to a notorious anti-labor judge and got an order seizing the local and its assets.

His organization then worked with management in recruiting scabs and enrolling them as members of the UFCW. Presumably, these scabs are among the new members the advertisement boasted of.

The Austin story will go down in labor history as the most un-covered story of these times, and many of us are wondering why.

Fredrick S. Gram
St. Paul, Minn.

Haiti

I HAVE READ WITH MUCH INTEREST ANNE-CHRISTINE d'Adesky's article on Haiti (*ITT*, Dec. 16, 1987). I would like to point out that many Haitians did not agree with the November 29 elections. In fact, a whole sector of the Haitian left had been repeatedly warning against the danger of a vote under the current military junta, and without any prior disarming of the Macoutes. Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide (the leading Haitian propon-

ent of liberation theology), the progressive trade union CATH, the National Popular Assembly (APN), the Brooklyn-based newspaper *Haiti-Progrès* and other journalists and grass-roots activists had all warned of possible bloodshed and explained that there was no possible free election under the current government. They had also highlighted that elections are not synonymous with democracy, that a president-elect would be a virtual prisoner of the Macoutes-dominated Haitian army, that the road to democracy was indeed a very long one, and that "free elections" were, to a considerable extent, a custom-tailored product for internal consumption by the U.S. media—such skeptics felt the "demonstration elections" were held to prove to U.S. TV watchers that the Reagan administration had indeed restored democracy to Haiti after 30 years of U.S. support to the Duvaliers' dynasty. These warnings went unheeded, however, and the people stood in line at the polling stations, to be mowed down by UZI-toting henchmen.

Successive U.S. administrations have intervened in Haiti (with the two notable exceptions of Kennedy, who hated Papa Doc, and Carter). The current U.S. ambassador in Port-au-Prince, Brunson McKinley, was a U.S. consul in Da Nang, Vietnam, in 1975. This should give you some insight into the Reagan administration's current policy in Haiti.

What Haitians really want is to be left alone to "*dechouke tout makout*" (uproot all Macoutes).

Thank you so much for your remarkable coverage of Haiti.

André Charlier
New York

Walker

BECAUSE WALKER HAS NOT YET OPENED IN MOST parts of the country, including mine, I can't comment either on the film or on Pat Aufderheide's review of it (*ITT*, Dec. 16) *per se*. But some of the shortcomings Aufderheide's criticizes in Alex Cox's version of the William Walker story are traceable, at least in part, to the source material Cox and screenwriter Rudy Wurlitzer worked with. They based their account of Walker's invasion of Nicaragua chiefly on *The World and William Walker* by Albert Z. Carr, published in 1963.

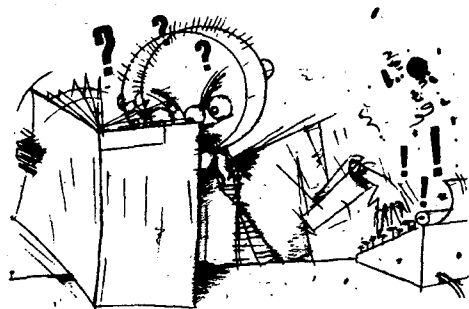
Overall, the Carr biography is an apologia, if not for Walker then for U.S. intervention. It is one of several scholarly and pseudoscholarly accounts of Walker's activities written during an era of revisionism about our Civil War and pre-Civil War period (the revisionism that reduces the carnage of the "irrepressible conflict" to a dispute over "states' rights" and tariff policy). In these writings, Walker appears as a basically well-intentioned if eccentric, missionary whose zeal to extend the benefits of Yankee democracy to Central America led to excess and ultimate failure, as he unwisely crosses Cornelius Vanderbilt for the sake of expediency.

The need of the slave system in the South continually to extend its territory was, in large part, the driving force behind U.S. expansionism in the early 19th century—not some vague, abstract "imperialism." Land speculators and commercial capitalists like

Vanderbilt (who was incidental to the Walker invasion) were the fellow travellers and co-beneficiaries of Southern slavery-driven expansion. (Far from his plans falling through, as Aufderheide says, Vanderbilt siphoned an estimated \$10 million in profits from his Nicaragua enterprise, with which he later built up the New York Central Railroad empire.) Not only did Presidents Pierce and Buchanan support Walker, as Aufderheide correctly notes, but there was also an extensive quasi-private support network established that bore an uncanny resemblance to recent events. *Walker's* was the "covert operation" of its time. Although not directed from the White House, both Pierce and Buchanan gave the nod to this effort as a means of circumventing both congressional opposition to slavery expansion and the restrictions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Britain. The rhetoric about spreading democracy was used not only by Walker, but—incredible as it may seem today—by slavery partisans generally, who depicted the institution as a necessary concomitant of liberty for white people, especially in tropical climates. This was, after all, the era in which the statue of the goddess of liberty was erected atop our Capitol building—by slaves.

It is unfortunate that the whitewashed version of Walker's story should become the basis for *Walker*. The real story of what was behind the invasion is far more interesting and believable and, without preaching, far more suggestive of what is going on today.

Karl Bermann
Hampton, Va.



Corrections

A December 9 story, "Reagan's arms control dilemma: to be a failed president or not to be a Reaganite," incorrectly reported that the Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev was behind an arms control proposal made in December 1982. Yuri Andropov made the offer after Brezhnev died in November 1982.

The December 9 issue contained two errors in the "In Short" piece, "It's a bird, it's a plane, it's..." Erika Munk, the *Village Voice* writer who covered the theater festival planned by 78 Chilean thespians threatened by a death squad, points out, first, that Christopher Reeve and the Chilean actors heard about the government banning the festival at a lunch following the press conference, not, as *In These Times* reported, "at a press conference held before the stadium doors were to open." Second, the event was planned for a domed stadium, not an open-air facility, as *In These Times* reported.

Pamphlets & Leaflets for Today

How Japan Won the War \$1. De-throning her war lords, giving ours carte blanche.

After 1984 \$1. An action program for democrats.

Memo from A.D.4500 \$1. Culmination of civilization's current suicide preparations.

War on Milk \$4. Why does Food & Drug Administration forbid research into immune qualities of milk to treat arthritis, asthma, hay fever, other ills?

Atomic Radiation in Minnesota \$1. Power company and University of Minnesota snow job on public to sell nuclear power.

Minnesota Energy Inventory \$2. Where we get it, how we use it; conservation programs.

Barter and the Price System \$4. Discussion of mutual aid as alternative to "survival of the fittest."

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Tortured children

If it did not already, the world now knows more clearly than ever what Palestinians think of 20 years of Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The mainstream news media are compelled to show images of violence and repression. Perhaps some reporters might turn to the mountains of data explaining just why Palestinian rage burns strongly enough to defy heavily armed soldiers and from time to time to die at their hands. Earlier this year William Swing, bishop of California in the Episcopal diocese of that state, was one of those seeking—in vain, mostly—to publicize a report called *Children in Israeli Military Prisons*, researched and written by Rev. Canon Riah Abu El-Assal, pastor of Christ Evangelical Church in Nazareth; Dina Lawrence, cultural anthropologist from California, and Karen White, author and journalist from Florida.

As it says by way of introduction, "This report explores the imprisonment and torture of Palestinian children (i.e., persons under 18) living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, areas that have been under the authority of the Israeli military occupation army since the 1967 war. The frequent and pervasive practice of child imprisonment and torture makes this issue one of the gravest, requiring immediate and focused attention."

Apologists for the Israeli General Security Services, or Shin Bet, claim that the brutal methods and mendacious court testimony of Shin Bet, exposed in May 1987 when the conviction of a soldier was overturned, are necessary when dealing with "terrorists" in the occupied territories. As the authors of the report say, "Some of the 'terrorists and potential terrorists' are in fact 10 and 11-year-old children. Many are 12, 13 and 14 years old and are currently crowding the Israeli military prisons in the West Bank

and Gaza. Many are the victims of arbitrary arrest, sometimes while attending classes in school; all are subject to systematic humiliation, beatings and torture during the course of interrogation and imprisonment, and all are denied full due process of law.... The *modus operandi* of Israeli military rule dictates that every child, whether held for two hours in detention or sentenced to two months in prison, is subjected to systematic intimidation, humiliation and excessive physical abuse. The West Bank affiliate to the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists cites, as a matter of official Israeli government policy, the indiscriminate detention, humiliation and intimidation of Palestinian persons in general."

The children are denied due process, often imprisoned without charge and released without trial having been held incommunicado, denied visits by family, attorney, Red Cross and any representative of a human rights organization. They are often sentenced on the basis of a "confession" extracted after beatings. There is no appeals process. The burden of proof is on the child to establish innocence. The "confessions" they sign are in Hebrew which mostly they cannot read, so often they have no knowledge of what they have put their names to. Rearrest is likely.

Here's a case in the report, by no means the most appalling, concerning Ibrahim: "In April 1987, at 9:00 a.m., Ibrahim and seven friends were standing at the door of their school. A group of eight Israeli soldiers, passing by the school on a routine foot patrol in the street, saw the boys and they began to run away in fear; the Israeli soldiers pursued them through the streets. When the soldiers caught them, they pushed the boys roughly against a wall, with

the boys' faces toward the wall. The soldiers then began to beat all the boys with wooden truncheons and iron rods on their bodies—on their heads, backs, arms, legs and knees. Four of the boys were 13 years old and four of them were 14 or 15 years old. The Israeli soldiers put the eight boys into an Israeli border guard jeep, all of them face-down and piled on top of each other. It seemed to Ibrahim that the soldiers drove them through the streets for a very long time as though the soldiers were showing the boys to the people in the street. The entire time the boys rode in the jeep the Israeli soldiers kicked them with their boots and beat them with wooden truncheons on their heads, backs and legs.

"The boys were taken to the military headquarters in Khan Younis, dragged out of the jeep and forced to stand in the courtyard with their arms raised over their heads for one-half hour. There were two others there, so the group became 10 in all, aged 12-15 years old. There were many Israeli soldiers there in the courtyard and they yelled at the boys, using profane language and making obscene insults about Ibrahim's mother, father and sisters. The soldiers frightened him when they kept telling him: 'We will not be merciful to you.' The Israeli soldiers beat all the boys in the courtyard with their fists."

Ibrahim and the others were then taken to a police station, then interrogated and taken to Ansar II, a prison in Gaza City. "The police handed the boys over to the Israeli soldiers at the prison. They took his possessions from him, and four soldiers beat Ibrahim with their fists as they escorted him to a small room with 35 other youths aged 12-20 years old. Ibrahim was not allowed to leave the room for 15 days. Each day he

was given one piece of bread, a glass of tea and one egg to eat three times, at breakfast, lunch and dinner time. He could use the toilet only once a day for 1½ minutes. Once a week he could bathe with a pot of cold water but was not given soap or a towel. Each boy was allowed two minutes in which to bathe. Each night the soldiers threw stones onto the asbestos roof of the room, about six to eight times each night, awakening the boys from sleep. Ibrahim had two thin, dirty blankets—one for a pillow and one to cover himself, and he was cold. Each day when the water supply for the 35 youths was exhausted, they had to wait for several hours till more water was brought to them. Many of the children in the room aged 12-16 years, had bruises, contusions and swelling on their faces, arms, legs and other parts of their bodies as a result of beatings during interrogation. They cried a lot. The boys in the room asked for a doctor but none came. The soldiers told the boys if they are sick to drink water. Ibrahim went to court and was released on 3,000 NIS bond."

The woman who nailed Ginsburg

Nina Totenberg was the National Public Radio (NPR) reporter who first acquainted the American people with the encouraging news that Supreme Court nominee Douglas Ginsburg had "experimented"—rather frequently, it seems—with marijuana. By thus disclosing Ginsburg's extra-legal practices as a law professor, Totenberg finished him off as a Supreme Court candidate, leaving us with the "mainstream conservative" Anthony Kennedy; your average Joe Sixpack judge, a racist, sexist angel of capital. It seems that when Totenberg went to Harvard to check Ginsburg out, she came to the conclusion that he was a "self-hating Jew." At least this is what she told Michael Moore, who reports the exchange in the premiere issue of his *Moore's Weekly*, a newsletter about media censorship and distortion.

Totenberg said to Moore that people in Harvard told her that "Ginsburg had allegedly once asked, 'Why do we spend so much money to defend Israel?' and he implied that it would be better for the U.S. to be on friendlier terms with the Arab countries." Moore goes on to write, "Totenberg later called to reassure me that her personal feelings did not get in the way of her Ginsburg reporting. 'I'm a cultural, not a religious Jew,' she offered. 'I'm not an Israeli-contributing, nor a particularly Israeli-loving Jew.'" She was not particularly pleased with Moore, either, since he was asking her why she had first denied to him, then confirmed to a *Los Angeles Times* reporter that she herself had once experimented with the demon weed (but, needless to say, had flung it from her like a poisoned thing). Then Moore enquired why she had been fired from her job on the *National Observer* for plagiarizing a story about Tip O'Neill from the *Washington Post*. "I was young, I was in my 20s," Totenberg responded. "I don't want to have to go back and talk about something that happened 20 years ago." Moore said that sounded like Ginsburg talking. Not true, said Totenberg, since Ginsburg was in his 30s when he was a dope fiend law professor.

Moore's Weekly costs \$24 a year and is available from P.O. Box 18135, Washington, DC 20005.

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OUR SOLDIERS ARE DEFENDING THEMSELVES AGAINST ROCK-THROWING MOBS



BUT THESE ARE SCHOOL CHILDREN! THEY AREN'T PLO GUERRILLAS!



AND THEY WON'T BE



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By Ronald Hayman
Simon & Schuster, 572 pp., \$22.95

Sartre: A Life

By Annie Cohen-Solal
Pantheon, 591 pp., \$24.95

By Rick Wilson

Two versions of how Sartre imitates life



Jean-Paul Sartre: Being and nothingness and big biographies.

N IETZSCHE ONCE WROTE THAT "It is not the strength but the duration of great sentiments that makes great men." If Nietzsche was right, then Jean-Paul Sartre had all the qualifications of greatness. At the age of 70, nearly blind and barely able to walk, the spokesman for committed literature reaffirmed the path of his life: "I tell myself that the only thing to do is to point out, emphasize, and support with all one's strength whatever aspects of a particular political and social situation can produce a society of free men.... Nothing can guarantee success for us, nor can anything rationally convince us that failure is inevitable."

As one of the most influential intellectuals of our time, Sartre may have been often wrong and sometimes less than honest, but he fought his era with an unequalled tenacity. Indeed, Ronald Hayman, author of one of two recent biographies that have had the misfortune of being published almost simultaneously (with the same title), maintains that "more courageously, more stubbornly, more cleverly and more passionately than anyone else, he used his life to test ways of facing up to the evils of contemporary history."

Now there are biographies and biographies. In many of these—Sartre's own of Flaubert and Baudelaire, for example—the concerns of the author eclipse and project themselves into the subject. Both Hayman's effort and the work of Annie Cohen-Solal have avoided this trap. Of the two, the latter is perhaps the most definitive in terms of his personal life. Cohen-Solal, an Algerian literature teacher who has previously published a study of Sartre's close friend Paul Nizan, spent three years conducting research and interviews. The end result is that, as much as possible, we are given Sartre himself, change by change, and almost day by day. We are shown the unlovely Sartre in his youth and pitiable decline, his broken friendships, his tangled affairs, the complexities of his relationship with Simone de Beauvoir, his abuse of drugs, his impossible commitments, even his lifelong fear of shellfish. More than anything else, she sees Sartre as one who truly lived his philosophy, continually attempting to "create himself through his own actions."

Ronald Hayman, on the other hand, who has previously written biographies of Kafka and Nietzsche, places a much greater emphasis upon Sartre's works. This difference in points of view is due in part to the fact that Cohen-Solal wrote in

France where Sartre's work is well known, even commonplace. In the English-speaking world, people tend to think of Sartre in terms of a part of his work, i.e., as a playwright, an existentialist, a radical, a novelist. Hayman attempts to provide insights into the body of his output—no easy task, since Sartre often wrote as much as 20 pages a day.

The fame game: The most extraordinary thing to account for in his life is precisely how this provincial schoolteacher and novelist managed to rocket himself into such prominence. Though he longed for fame when growing up in the household of his grandfather Charles Schweitzer (Sartre was Albert's cousin), he was surprised and less than pleased when it finally came in postwar France.

His father had died in Jean-Paul's infancy. Precocious and introverted, Jean-Paul began writing almost as soon as he could read. Charles was tolerant of his talents but advised the boy that an author must support himself by a mundane career such as teaching.

As if his grandfather's advice was destiny, he became a teacher of philosophy, distinguished only by his non-professional manner. Attracted by Husserl's phenomenology, he took a year's leave to study philosophy in Germany, where he had his first brush with Nazism in

1933. His literary and philosophical interests complemented each other. By 1938 the novel *Nausea*, which he regarded as his finest purely literary work, was published to favorable reviews and he was laying the groundwork for existentialism.

Existentialism in vogue: It was World War II, however, that prepared the world for Sartre and Sartre for

Perhaps more than anyone else, Jean-Paul Sartre used his life and work to test ways of facing up to the evils of contemporary history.

the world. As a soldier, a prisoner of war and a resistant in occupied France, he learned to move beyond the amplified individualism of his earliest works. The war years saw the completion of *Being and Nothingness*, the magnum opus of existentialism, and the performance of the anti-Nazi play *The Flies* and the powerful one-act *No Exit*. His ideas had struck a responsive chord.

Under the Occupation people had discovered the lonely power of their

conscious choices. Could one collaborate? Could one resist, even though innocent civilians would die in reprisal? Could one refrain from choosing? And, more to the point, Sartre's insistence that people could—and must—create themselves freely in an indeterminate future offered a kind of stark hope. By 1945 he was a public figure and existentialism was in vogue.

Though his political sympathies were on the left, he never attempted

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to join the Communist Party (he would have been refused had he tried). The Party, however, lost no time in condemning existentialism as reactionary petit bourgeois individualism. At the time Marx's own writings on the human individual were largely unknown, and Communists, like Hungarian Georg Lukacs in *History and Class Consciousness*, who dealt with subjectivity were severely criticized. Sartre sided with the working class, "an enormous sombre group which lived Marxism," but he had not yet confronted Marxist theory. During the late '40s he sought, in vain, for a democratic socialist third force between Stalinism and capitalism. The evaporation of those hopes and the heightening of international tensions gave him a "new and definitive apprenticeship to realism."

Pearls, swine, et al: That period was an acid test for those on the left. Many who had worshipped Stalin as a father/god figure in the '30s were shocked by the revelation of Stalinist atrocities into capitulation or silence. Sartre had never been a Stalinist, and he saw a greater and more lasting danger in right-wing reaction. Under the influence of Merleau-Ponty, a co-editor of the journal *Le Temps Modernes*, he moved closer to Marxism, a movement that culminated with his 1952 "conversion" experience. He would later write, "The last connections were broken, my vision was transformed: an anti-Communist is a swine.... I swore against the bourgeoisie a hatred which will die only when I do." It was, an oath that he would keep.

Though he became disillusioned with the Soviets after the invasion of Hungary in 1956, he was more convinced than ever of the validity of Marxism. He was led back to re-examine and attempt to revitalize Marxist theory. The results of this investigation were *Search for a Method* and the *Critique of Dialectical Reason* (1960). Although he wrote much of the *Critique* while under the influence of drugs (a small consolation to those who have waded through it), it is arguably his most important philosophical work. He takes his place with a handful of 20th-century thinkers (Lukacs, Korsch, Gramsci, the Critical Theorists) who have dealt creatively with

Marxism. He may be tilting at windmills in trying to find in history a single meaning, but his treatment of praxis, alienation, scarcity, the practice-inert (the residue of past praxis) and the dialectic of individual and group point in directions that have yet to be sufficiently explored.

In trouble, out of jail: Sartre's return to philosophy did not imply a neglect of political activity. His strong support for the Algerian revolution against the French colonialism led to many threats on his life. DeGaulle, however, did not press for his legal prosecution on the grounds that "You don't arrest Voltaire." Sartre opposed American involvement in Vietnam as vigorously as he opposed the French, serving on the Russell Tribunal against American war crimes in Indochina. He supported the Prague Spring in 1968 and was profoundly influenced by the French student and worker rebellions, his closest brush with revolution. Hayman points out that the influence was mutual, since many of the militants of 1968 "absorbed Marxism through a Sartrean filter."

The attempt to keep the spirit of the rebellion alive led Sartre to another unfortunate involvement, this time with French Maoists. He allowed his name to be listed as the editor of some Maoist publications and defended the morality of revolutionary violence. Moving from left to ultra-left, he announced in 1977 that he was no longer a Marxist. Far from being a recantation, he aimed to take up its valid points—the class struggle, surplus value, etc.—and go beyond it. Beginning his career as an apolitical anarchist, he finished it as a social anarchist who spoke of eliminating all hierarchies, all powers.

Though his spirit was willing, the flesh was weak. His world gradually closed in. In mid-April of 1980, after final farewell to de Beauvoir, he lapsed into a coma and died. Some 50,000 people joined his funeral procession.

Hayman shows that at the heart of Sartre's activity was a conflict between literature and commitment, an example of which is his refusal to accept the Nobel prize for literature in 1964. He was happiest when writing philosophy in his study or a cafe, but more at peace with himself when crusading against the evils of the world. He could not possibly have reconciled the two. It is in this failure, however, that Hayman believes his greatness rests. "...There is something heroic in Sartre's indomitable persistence, in his boundless willingness to be wrong." An extremist by nature, Sartre made a career of expanding the boundaries of thought. Even if we can't be Sartreans, we cannot help learning from him, and Hayman's biography is a good place to start. ■

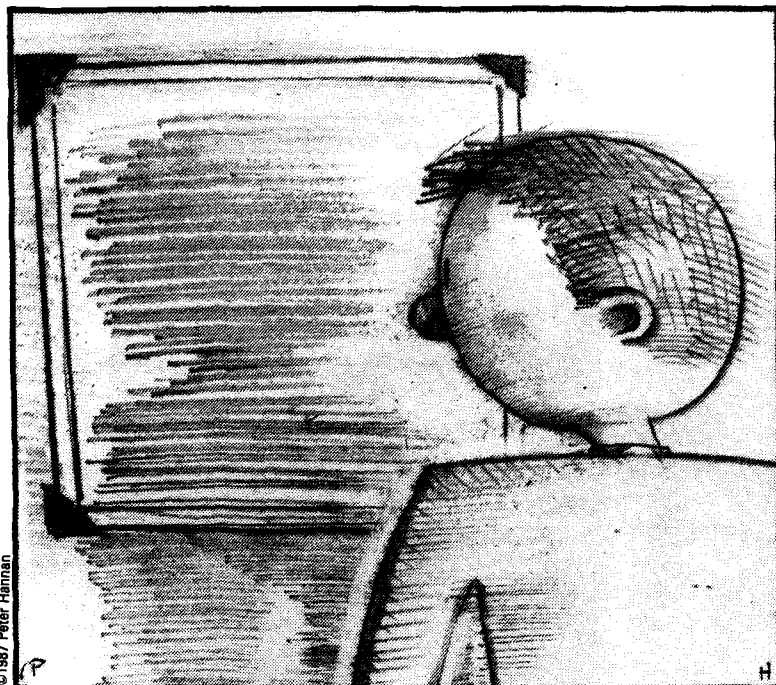
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The darker Southern exposures

A World Unsuspected: Portraits of Southern Childhood

Edited by Alex Harris
University of North Carolina Press,
237 pp., \$16.95

By Fred Little



©1987 Peter Harman

IN HIS EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION TO this book, Alex Harris writes that he "asked these [fiction] writers to look at their own family photograph albums and, using these snapshots as a catalyst for memory, to tell the true story of their childhoods.... I made it clear that image quality should not be a factor in their choice of pictures. All the better if their snapshots resembled the seemingly ordinary photographs in most of our family albums."

So it's clear from the word go that this is an odd amalgam of forms. Published under the auspices of the Duke Center for Documentary Photography, the book features vernacular photos that "resemble the seemingly ordinary," accompanied by "true" stories set down by writers better known for their fiction. This book is not intended to rest easily at the center of glass coffeetables, filling that aesthetic void with a few stunning visual effects. Like its sub-

ject—Southern childhood—it's a confused and confusing mix of crossed purposes and signals, with something to make everyone uncomfortable.

Clearly, the contributing writers took seriously Harris' dismissal of "image quality" as a significant factor in the picture selections. The interest of the photos included is less intrinsic than talismanic. Imagine if every copy of *Remembrance of Things Past* came with a madeleine attached; the effect is similar. Though no reader can possibly have the associations with the

triggering image that the writer has, the presence of those grainy prints heightens the sense of verisimilitude. It tempts us to believe for a moment that these stories are being told by folks who are as artless with their words as their snapshots. It's the same conceit that made Sam Ervin a national hero ("Now, I'm just a country lawyer"), a slick twist on the most basic skill of good storytellers everywhere, the trick that allows the writer to say "I" and mean "we."

Persistent strains: At a time when America has its first serious

black presidential candidate, it seems significant that the writers in this volume are of the last generation born on the far side of *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, that the photos are all black and white prints, that the only piece in which "the race question" isn't at least alluded to—Bobby Ann Mason's ac-

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count of her days as The Hilltoppers' fan club president in those final years before Elvis and rock'n'roll and exposure to New York washed that world away—comes off like a paean to the virtues of podunk romanticism. But that last item has always been a persistent strain in Southern life, and Bobbie Ann Mason's Kentucky hills belong here just as surely as T.R. Pearson's Kitty Hawk sand dunes.

That's not to say that T.R. Pearson is any more "typical" or "average" or "representative." His distinctive run-on single sentence

able skill to sound as folksy as all that without sounding bone-stupid, and Pearson certainly has the chops to pull it off. But in the process of doing so he highlights the essential quandary of this collection: These "memoirs" are not memories, but representations of memories, and as representations they are susceptible to all of the gimmicks and distortions of fiction.

Ellesee Southerland's prose on the other hand is a grammatical prescriptivist's dream. Though a northern black woman, she sets down her "southern" childhood in words as clear as the Brooklyn tap-water she grew up drinking:

In the world outside, they were singing "Old Man River" and "Irene, Good Night." Just humming a few notes of those songs could get you a heavy warning, a sudden slap or a full-fledged whipping which was routine in our house, leaving me too many nights with painful lumps in my throat as I cried internally, because my father's heavy voice blasted my nervous system.

Where T.R. Pearson relies on a representation of vernacular speech to make his memoir seem genuinely "Southern," Ellesee Southerland relies on the "facts" which she presents to do that part of the work and uses the clarity and correctness of her voice to communicate a sense of dignity and accomplishment. Trying to decide which of these artifices is more authentic is fruitless. The point is that both are

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The pose of artlessness in photography confronts some artful prose.

paragraphs catch the feel of reminiscence so well that they serve to obscure their art. It takes consider-

The Media Monopoly, 2nd ed.

By Ben Bagdikian
Beacon Press, 274 pp., \$10.95

By Alfred McClung Lee

Playing monopoly with the 'free' press

BRITISH PUBLISHER PREDICTS: "In 10 years' time there will be only 10 global corporations of communications. I...would expect to be one of them." In *The Media Monopoly* Ben Bagdikian sets forth the trends that make such an eventuality a possibility and explores how those trends affect news coverage, political campaigns and public policy decisions.

In 1981, when Bagdikian assembled his book's first edition, he found that just 46 companies controlled most of the nation's newspaper, magazine, television, book and movie industries. By 1986 that number had dwindled to 29. Independently owned newspapers, which four decades ago composed 80 percent of the nation's total, now account for just 28 percent, with 15 corporations controlling half of the daily newspaper business. The Gannett conglomerate, owns *USA Today* and 92 other dailies with a combined circulation of 6,101,000, about one-tenth of the national total. And media mogul S.I. Newhouse Jr. not only controls such dailies as the *Staten Island Advance* and the *Portland Oregonian*, but also the *New Yorker* and Random House books.

Three TV networks—Capital Cities/ABC, CBS, and NBC—control about three-quarters of the prime-time broadcast audience. Ten companies gross more than half of the \$10 billion book sales. Four dominate the movie business.

And many of these corporations are interconnected and with other types of American or multinational interests. To illustrate, Bagdikian points out that the lordly *New York Times* is "interlocked with Merck, Morgan Guarantee Trust, Bristol Myers, Charter Oil, Johns Manville, American Express, Bethlehem Steel, IBM, Scott Paper, Sun Oil and First Boston Corporation." He says that Time, Inc., has "so many interlocks they almost represented a plenary board of directors of American business and finance." He tells that Louis Brandeis regarded this linkage as "the endless chain." Brandeis contended in an article in *Harper's Weekly* in 1913: "The practice of interlocking directorates is the root of many evils.... It is undemocratic, for it rejects the platform: 'A fair field and no favors.'"

Bottom-line ideology: What does this concentration of media power now mean? Bagdikian sum-

marizes the situation thus: "When 50 men and women, chiefs of their corporations, control more than half the information and ideas that reach 220 million Americans, it is time for Americans to examine the

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institutions from which they receive their daily picture of the world." Actually the controls are even more integrated than that statement suggests because a similar bottom-line ideology dominates much more than half of the country's media.

In his final chapter Bagdikian suggests ways to undo the excessive concentration of media power, for: "To give citizens a choice of ideas and information is to give them a choice in politics: if a nation has narrowly controlled information it will soon have narrowly controlled politics." But experienced media analyst Bagdikian is a realist and his suggestions underline the power of the sweep toward national and international media monopoly.

In the book's first edition Bagdikian "avoided suggesting remedies that seemed politically impossi-

ble." This time out he apparently felt pressed to be more constructive despite his gloomy data. Therefore he sets forth five ways that media power might be made more diffuse:

- Limit the number of outlets a corporation might control in the media field;
- Institute a progressive tax on advertising that "would reduce its volume and elevate the public's needs in the media's selection of non-advertising content."
- Lower postal rates to "acknowledge the educational as well as the profit-making function of mail service." This would "greatly increase the availability of new and different non-commercial voices."
- Reorganization of journalistic employment so that top editors

A bottom-line ideology dominates much more than half of the nation's media.

would be selected by their employees rather than "being integrated into the managerial imperatives of the corporation." Though unlikely, this would offset the current tendency to combine journalism with advertising and marketing in media policies.

• Publicity at regular intervals of the ownership and of owners' outside interests. Postal regulations require newspapers and other periodicals to list all those with 1 percent or more ownership interest, but "the names of trusts and other uninformative entities can be listed." The further difficulty is that "there is no readily available list for most local readers of the other major interests of the company, its officers, and major stockholders."

But the chief obstacle Bagdikian sees in reversing the monopolizing trend "lies in public awareness of the danger." Congress, he says, would not dare to make an adequate investigation; it "would have to resist its own temptations to use the media and, as with any other study, avoid capture by the forces it would study." His one hope in this connection is that a "serious, sophisticated public commission" be created under support by "foundations or other private money," which could "produce a comprehensive picture of the extent to which diversity and accountability of the marketplace has been lost, and of the financial excesses that threaten the long-term strength of the mass media."

Alfred McClung Lee is the author of *The Daily Newspaper in America*, *How to Understand Propaganda*, *Terrorism in Northern Ireland* and the forthcoming *Sociology for People*, among other books.



A scene from Fernando Perez' *Underground* shown at this year's Festival of New Latin American Cinema and Video in Havana.

don't care—this is the place I want it to be seen," he said. Besides, the film was shown out of competition. *Born in East L.A.*'s producer Peter MacGregor Scott had had to hand-carry the film to Cuba and back to assuage studio fears. But Dowd said that studio concerns were usually focused on the pervasive danger of film piracy, not politics. "If this festival were held in Indonesia, believe me, they'd raise the same questions," he said.

Some American cultural-agenda-setters stayed out of the spotlight, like Michelle Satter, director of the Sundance Institute's feature film program. "I think American independent filmmakers could use some inspiration now," Satter said. "Latin filmmakers' passion and desire to say something urgently is so clear in their films."

Archivist Robert Rosen, from the University of California, Los Angeles, was scouring two retrospectives for archival films and attending the first-ever meeting in Havana of the prestigious International Federation of Film Archives (FIAPF). Sonny Mehta, head of Knopf books, sandwiched in classic tourist excursions such as the Tropicana nightclub's preserved-in-aspic performances, and the explosively inventive jazz of Arturo Sandoval, with meetings scheduled with Latin authors, including Gabriel Garcia Marquez. Knopf is publishing Garcia Marquez' new book, *Love in the Time of Cholera*, and Mehta was brainstorming how to launch the book with its author, who has been repeatedly refused a U.S. visa.

A handy dissident serves up the balance any quick-trip journalist from the West needs as seasoning to the perennial articles describing Havana's decaying pleasure palaces and the Tropicana experience. This year Ricardo obliged, stumbling across two middle-aged journalists who sat sharing professional war stories in a bar. Ricardo is one of the boat people who left from Mariel harbor in 1980 to try his luck in the U.S. He'd been deported, and was eager to return to Miami.

In broken English he chatted with one member of the American delegation after the next, as onlooking Cuban artists and officials murmured phrases like "that cheap blackmarket hustler," but made no move to intervene. A Cuban freelance photographer, himself on the margins of state enterprise, was most upset—perhaps at the thought of being lumped into the same unsavory category.

American tourists: Of course, one *de rigueur* aspect of any American visitor's festival experience is the immersion in bureaucracy gone awry. Tale after tale was traded of lost luggage, missing hotel reservations, frustration with the rules of a controlled econ-

Life of the party; Hollywood to Havana

By Pat Aufderheide

EVERY YEAR IN MID-DECEMBER about 1,500 people from all over the New World head off to Havana, where billboards exhorting workers to higher productivity—not commercial ads—dot the streets.

They come for the movies. The annual Festival of New Latin American Cinema and Video began in 1979 as a blow against cultural imperialism, showcasing Latin films made within a postwar tradition of socially-oriented, even politically militant, film work. It has become the world's largest annual festival and market for Latin American film, television and video.

The Havana festival is always a roiling political, social and aesthetic event. This year, as always, the festival was as different as the cultural baggage and agendas brought by the different delegations from the U.S., Canada and Latin America.

Hollywood and Havana: For Americans, Havana is shrouded in myth and misinformation. Whether you're left, right or center, the word "Cuba" means "socialist state," not, say, "subtropical Caribbean island."

Complementary myths are evident on arrival. "Hollywood" may connote candy-coated poison to some Latins, but the dream factory also fascinates. When Hollywood recognizes Latin America, it's like the ultimate stamp of approval. And the honors are returned.

Director Oliver Stone (*Wall Street*, *Platoon*, *Salvador*), who received a spontaneous standing

ovation at the festival's awards ceremony, won an award for Best Film on a Latin subject by a non-Latin for *Salvador*. Cheech Marin's *Born in East L.A.*—classified for official purposes as an entry from the country denominated as "Chicano"—won two festival prizes

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and the best film award from the journalist group Prensa Latina.

Audiences packed houses to watch U.S. studio films—*Walker*, *Born in East L.A.*, *Salvador*. Latin critics and film buffs crowded small rooms to catch a glimpse of famous American directors like Bob Rafelson and Arthur Penn.

First love: The warm reception worked its own magic on West Coast visitors. "I love this place," Cheech Marin said. "The people look happy here. You hear, 'socialist country,' and you expect to see guys running around with jeeps and machine guns, but I saw more guys like that in Paris this summer. It really makes you think about what freedom really is." He particularly liked sitting in a crowded theater near people who wept and laughed and roared while watching his movie. "I haven't heard laughter like that since I used to go out live," he said.

For Jeff Dowd, a West Coast producer who had helped to get the U.S. films into the festival, the event was a window toward greater cultural exchange. In fact, he spent more time strolling the streets than he did watching films.

"What's striking to me, as someone who once lived in Latin

America," he said, "is that in so many other Latin countries people have a certain lack of hope. Here, regardless of other questions, it's clear people are not living in fear, that they have a certain *joie de vivre*—you see it at the ball game, on the dance floor, walking in the park. Just look at the couples—I love watching the couples in love.

"Look, I believe in entrepreneurship; I think it's part of the human spirit," he said. "But I also believe part of the human spirit is communal. There's no justification for our country trying to stop experiments like this."

Dowd can already see a happy encounter between entrepreneurship and socialist experiment. He's thinking about writing a film or video script located in Cuba, and also about organizing future cultural exchanges.

Art and politics: Oliver Stone, the hottest Hollywood star of the festival, made waves when he talked about politics in movies. "The Hollywood community is more left than the general public," he explained. "But since they're regarded as kooks it doesn't matter. You have to hope the film makes a difference."

While carefully drawing the line between art and politics, Stone said he did hope his films were having some effect. "I think the Reagan administration is bad for the country," he said, also saying he saw a resurgence of McCarthyism. "But I consider myself first and foremost a dramatist."

It came as a surprise to many who think of Stone as a master of macho melodrama that he'd been

influenced early on by some of the most powerful artists of early New Latin American cinema: Brazilian Glauber Rocha and Cuban Tomas Gutierrez Alea. He'd tried, he said, to capture in *Salvador* the magical realism he admired in authors such as Gabriel Garcia Marquez.

"It's the surreal elements in Latin America that have influenced me," he said. "The comedy, the absurdity, the tragedy, the sexual excess—that's what I love about Hispanic culture." The remark elicited the same slightly baffled respect that his movie had from Cuban audiences.

Stone had tried to bring *Platoon* to the festival the year before, "but

Director Oliver Stone, the Latin film festival's hottest Hollywood star, made waves when he talked about politics in the movies.

the producers felt it wouldn't look good for the director to show up in Havana delivering pronouncements three days after it opened in the U.S."

Studios, it seems, are wary of sending prints to Cuba, but not necessarily for political reasons. Director Alex Cox had virtually hijacked *Walker*, which Universal had slated for festival debut at a prestigious European festival. "I

omy, and of course the perpetual shortage of information on festival events and film schedules.

An American visitor's experience of Cuba is also typically shot through with idealism, and ever-prone to instant disillusion. It's one reflection of a 25-year long enforced naivete cultivated by informational and economic blockade and reinforced by inchoate anti-communism. And it's given weight by the backpack of muffled guilt with which even a politically-conscious Yankee enters any Latin American country (especially in the country whose leader has weathered a host of assassination attempts by our government).

It all turns lost luggage, as much as the sight of lovers on the street (of course—housing shortage turns Havana parks into trysting space), into a commentary on tropical socialism.

Canadian content: Canadians come to the Havana festival with a certain advantage over U.S. visitors. For the Canadian government, Cuba is not the Red Menace it is to administration after administration in the U.S. And Canadian filmmakers share with Latins the battle to counter the power of the American film industry. But even so, Canadians who attended the first retrospective of Canadian cinema to show at the festival found plenty of surprises.

"Coming here was more important than I thought," said Roger Frappier, a major independent director and producer (*The Decline of the American Empire*, *Night Zoo*). Frappier has long fought lowest-common-denominator cinema in Canada, where *Porky's* is officially claimed a national production because it was filmed there. In meetings with leading Latin American filmmakers, he found the kind of authorial energy he's always looking for. "This continent is so full of passions," he said. "The problem in North America is that we don't know any more what we want to say."

The Canadian retrospective reciprocated last year's Latin American retrospective at the Toronto Festival of Festivals, but was also billed as a venture in "better understanding of lesser-known national cinemas."

Canadians weren't put off by the "lesser-known cinema" label. When director Bill MacGillivray described his problems with gaining audiences at home for his regional films—"We're so used to seeing Americans on screen that when we don't, we're disappointed"—he won warm applause from sympathetic Latin producers.

The other festival: The creative energy and passion that Americans and Canadians eagerly appreciated was often less clear to veteran Latin filmmakers. It was, for many, a time of reckoning, and for some a new beginning.

The 1967 festival at Viña del Mar, Chile, whose anniversary was



Oliver Stone celebrates his award for *Salvador*.

celebrated this year at the festival, marked the self-awareness of an international film movement then

The mandate to unite cinema and action is still strong.

generating—and collecting heaps of awards for—some of the most remarkable film work anywhere, by such internationally renowned figures as Fernando Birri, Glauber Rocha, Nelson Pereira dos Santos, Tomas Gutierrez Alea and Humberto Solas. Its tone was marked by its honorary president: Che Guevara.

"In 1967, we felt no possible contradiction between art and militancy," said Alfred Guevara, founder of the Cuban film institute, during a heated four-day seminar during this year's festival. "Our New Latin American Cinema...remade the sacred nexus between militancy and poetry."

But 1987 is not 1967, he acknowledged. And, for better and worse, it certainly isn't. After harsh years of dictatorship throughout the continent, democratic reawakening and economic restructuring has fostered a mini-boom in Latin commercial production. But economic crisis again grips Latin America, and ticket sales are plummeting everywhere, with television a fierce rival. Behind the market challenges is the felt loss of a mission for film.

It was time to ask, Guevara suggested, "What have we done? What are we doing with our work?" It was the first time a familiar nagging question had become the meat for open, and often anguished, discussion (see accompanying remarks by director Paul Leduc).

Feature films shown at the festival testified to the distance between 1967 and 1987. Many features now focus on the lives of the small middle class that can still be depended on to go to the movies. Technical quality and wit abound, within the limits of commercial via-

bility.

Cuban Fernando Perez' technically excellent *Underground*, a story of love and guerrilla war in the pre-revolutionary underground, stylistically evokes made-for-TV movies. Argentine Carlos Sorin's frantic comedy *La Pelicula del Rey* (The King's Movie) tickles with its episodic adventures of a filmmaker and its snappy, commercial-derived camera angles and cuts. An expectable crop of historical films and well-acted contemporary dramas (especially from Argentina) was seasoned by occasional insouciance, as in the case of Mexican Jaime Hermosillo's latest film, *Underground Destiny*. The film is set in U.S.-occupied Guadalajara in the year 2000, when only group sex can save the hero from suicide and for the independence movement.

The mandate to unite cinema and social action on Latin terms is still boldly in evidence in documentaries, though not with the groundbreaking aesthetic force of

an earlier era. Video—usually not aimed at a commercial market—sometimes takes greater stylistic gambles. Chilean activists, for instance, are producing often crude but effective short documentary videos, and a savvy Puerto Rican video, *30 August 1985*, is designed for organizing around civil rights violations.

Although veterans of 1967 marked the gap between then and now, new institutions are carving out new possibilities. The Foundation for New Latin American Cinema, for instance, located in Cuba but funded with international contributions and headed by Gabriel Garcia Marquez, now channels co-productions and international projects.

The foundation has already begun a six-feature project with funding from Spanish TV. All use scripts by Garcia Marquez and are directed by such great names in New Latin American Cinema as Tomas Gutierrez Alea and Ruy Guerra. Also through the founda-

tion, Fernando Birri—one of the fathers of New Latin American Cinema—is directing and playing the title role in his first feature in years.

New talents: The School for Cinema and Television, on the other hand, with students from 26 mostly Latin countries, subsidized by the Cuban government but not run by it, is training new talent. The students seem as bent on "shocking the socialists" as an earlier generation was at "shocking the bourgeois," and school director Birri seems delighted with their spirit. Their first three-minute film subjects include erotic themes, homesickness and one witty feminist critique of machismo done in a music-video style.

At the festival, students were as obstreperous in seminars as their films are. "I don't even draw my inspiration from the Latin American films of the '60s," one said. "Let's take the new technologies and go to work." A Chicana student from Texas spoke up: "We need to recognize the diversity of human experience," she said, announcing, as an example, that she was a lesbian. The large audience went silent, and one older filmmaker murmured to another, "Is this a discussion or a therapy session?"

For those charting the direction of Latin American cinema, this year's festival marked the closing of an era and the heady launching of a new phase.

But for many visitors from the North, the crisis in Latin cinema was often the backdrop for a cross-cultural adventure. Around the pool at the Hotel Nacional, late at night, savoring a *mojito*—Hemingway's favorite drink—Robert Rosen sighed and said, "Let's not forget, the festival is also one helluva party."

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Paul Leduc: a death knell for dinosaur cinema

At a seminar on the future of New Latin American cinema at the Havana festival, Mexican filmmaker Paul Leduc (*Frida*) set the tone in a speech he frankly called "apocalyptic." After detailing the rapid technological changes and the economic crisis rebounding on film production and exhibition in Latin America, he assessed New Latin American cinema's legacy and future:

"The overall quality of the average film produced in Latin America has improved notably in the past few years. But partly as a consequence, our cinema has become decaffeinated. It has lost boldness. It has become trivial, thus facing the risk of disappearing or diluting itself.

"The postmodern has come to our pre-modern countries, after pests, earthquakes, dictatorships, devaluations, chips, VHS, closing down of theaters, lack of markets, Rambos and Rockys. Poverty has grown and multiplied and we

filmmakers have acted as if it had all been a nightmare and distanced ourselves from it all. And so today's cinema no longer hurts, no longer speaks, no longer makes us laugh, gives us information, variety or taste. And then we are surprised that the theaters are empty.

"At the risk of seeming a demagogue, I believe there is one, difficult path to follow: quality, in its most complex and strict sense. Not only the 'well-done,' but the search for roots, for the audacity, for the pleasure of doing it. Affirming our culture and our language. Daring the encounter with our originality—and with reality, the profound relationship with what happens to us and what entertains, afflicts or liberates us. That is what informed New Latin American Cinema when it began, and in many cases has been forgotten.

"Beyond individual efforts, we must stress collective efforts,

especially now that we have the means—especially the International School of Film and TV, the Foundation for New Latin American Cinema, and the possibility (I would say, obligation) to form national foundations to support and demand the best from them.

"The kind of cinema we had when we began is dead and dated. But the great American cinema also died with Huston—someone like Coppola is an isolated phenomenon, and the disposable film is gaining ground. Yet even so, our children want to follow in our footsteps.

"Cinema is a dinosaur. We need today to follow the path of the lizards. To do so we need solidarity and collective action. We must rescue from Viña del Mar the principle of organization, and push ahead to seize the new technologies.

"Dinosaur cinema is extinct. Long live the cinema of the lizards!"

—P.A.

Greens

Continued from page 10

to soothe Israeli anger over a December 1984 trip to the Mideast by Hamburg "anti-imperialist" Green Jürgen Reents. In the ensuing storm of criticism, Bundestag member Jutta Oesterle-Schwerin, herself an Israeli citizen, called Schily's statement in Tel Aviv that the Palestinians had learned democracy from the Israelis "elitist, arrogant and racist." Offended, Schily hinted he might resign from the Greens.

Bury the hatchet: This veiled threat carried weight. Lawyer Schily's diligent exposure of the Flick scandal (illegal payments by the Flick concern to the established parties) was the Green's most spectacular parliamentary success. As the most popular Green celebrity, his resignation could heavily damage the party in forthcoming state elections.

Schily did not, however, resign. Instead, in a conciliatory mood, he called for "burying the hatchet" at an emergency party meeting held December 12 in a Bonn cabaret. The media was excluded. Behind the podium was a large cartoon of two green frogs, slugging it out under the interested gaze of three large vultures, black, red and gold (Christian Democratic Union, SPD and Free Democratic Party, no doubt).

fed up with being "trampled by the elephants": Dittfurth, Ebermann, Fischer and Schily. The meeting accepted a paper presented by what the press promptly dubbed "the new center" calling for an end to "bloc confrontation" and for policy debate to be settled by a membership referendum.

The truce in the power struggle could be short-lived. Suspensions immediately surfaced that the new "Centralos" were merely using the exasperation with the Realos and Fundis to advance their own power positions in the

party. In a few days, Antje Vollmer and other mediators will probably be elected to replace Realo Schoppe and Fundi Ebermann in the Bundestag fraction leadership.

Afterward, Dittfurth added a sour note: A small minority of Realos still want to exclude

the Fundis, she said, apparently meaning Fischer and almost certainly Knapp, who has made no secret of his conviction that the Fundis and Ecosocialists must be driven out to transform the Greens into a really "modern" party. □

The South

Continued from page 19

artifices. This sort of realization—which has reached the point of terminally hip solipsism in the hands of some deconstructivists and their intellectual groupies—has always been at the core of Southern speech, or speechifying.

Rage and control: Similarly, James Alan McPherson's "Going Up to Atlanta," is a thunderstorm of rage and loss, held back by tightly woven syntax and precisely chosen vignettes. As he attempts to reason out (perhaps even reason away) the elements of his

father's failures, he calmly recounts a series of scenes from his boyhood. Most of them begin as accounts of other prominent figures in his childhood, and end as recountings of their memories of his father's travails as the first black master electrician in Georgia.

Through this device, he maintains an evenness of tone and a distance from the center of his piece. As the writer, he seems to be simply setting down accounts of what others saw. But that very reasonableness of tone is increasingly called into question by the facts he must address. Ultimately, he is brought up short by the words of an old friend who writes him:

You sharply forgot to mention that time and time and time again, your father had been unjustly denied an electrician's license—and he was the best. ... This refusal by white folk to grant your father an electrician's license and release his test scores, along with scores of other rejections and humiliations—the inheritance of all black people—caused your father irrevocable pain. ... He turned to drink for relief, you turn to "ideas."

The rule of politeness, of not-seeing and not-speaking is also at the core of Sheila Bosworth's "Didn't Mean Goodbye" and Robb Forman Dew's "The Power and the Glory," though the perspectives are different. Both Bosworth and Dew, white women born to more elevated social positions than most of the authors herein, write from places in which their adolescent-realization of the Southern bounds of race and manners still reverberates, places from different from the ones they were "meant" to occupy in adult life. Their failure to reach those places is as central to their stories, and the South's story, as that of James Alan McPherson's father is to "Going Up to Atlanta." Indeed, the core of most of these pieces is not the triumphs that have made us what we are, but the defeats. As the epigram from William Carlos Williams' "Paterson" has it:

No defeat is made up entirely of defeat—since the world it opens is always a place formerly

unsuspected. A

world lost,

a world unsuspected

beckons to new places.

That's true in Mississippi whether it's Barry Hannah's Oxford or Al Young's Ocean Springs, that's true in Padgett Powell's Florida, and in Dave Smith's Virginia. That's true in Josephine Humphrey's Charleston, S.C., and Ellease Southerland's New York, N.Y. All of these writers share a sharp sense of loss, but none of these pieces—with the exception of Bobbie Ann Mason's *ex post facto* press agent idyllatry—look back with longing. For most of them, simply being able to look back with clarity and something like completeness is cause for joy.

At the close of "Unripened Light," a memoir of his maternal grandfather, Al Young writes: "Now I'm free to remember Papa fully and to love him that way, too....[in] the eternal now, which neither needs nor asks to be OK'd by anyone." And that's more than artifice, and that's better than most of us ever manage: "to remember...fully." Give it a try. You won't be sorry you did. ■

Fred Little is a writer living in Palisades, N.Y.

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LIFE IN HELL

LIFE IN HELL

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JAMES BALDWIN:



By Salim Muwakkil

WHEN JAMES BALDWIN, IN A 1956 *Partisan Review* essay, criticized William Faulkner about his tolerance for segregation in the South, it wasn't just another disgruntled Negro complaining about high-brow justifications for crude bigotry—blacks were presumed incapable of discerning Faulkner's higher literary purpose, so their complaints were easily dismissed. Baldwin's essay, however, was a missive from a kindred spirit and could not be ignored. The Harlem-born son of a preacher made it clear that he understood Faulkner's aesthetic agenda, and appreciated the cultural complexities that shaped the Nobel laureate's peculiar, regional vision. But Baldwin refused to accept Faulkner's artistic ambitions as an excuse for hypocrisy.

"He [Faulkner] concedes the madness and moral wrongness of the South," Baldwin wrote in the essay that was later collected in the volume *Nobody Knows My Name*, "but at the same time he raises it to the level of a mystique which makes it somehow unjust to discuss Southern society in the same terms in which one would discuss any other society."

Baldwin, who died of stomach cancer on December 1, knew both what the squire of Oxford was up to and what he wouldn't face up to. He accused Faulkner of "great emotional and intellectual dishonesty," but he provided a psychological justification for that deceit. He forced us to empathize with Faulkner even as we deplored his acquiescence to racist tradition. Baldwin's ability to evoke empathy was one of his major talents. His prose style was never strident—critics frequently characterized it as elliptical—but his refusal to accept received wisdom gave his writing an extraordinary power. Whether in his fiction or his non-fiction, he dug down for the nugget, for raw material untainted by history or race. Baldwin's insights resonated with cross-cultural appeal. Like some kind of emissary from the collective unconscious,

noble word- warrior

he revealed truths we had forgotten we knew.

A cultural traveller: Baldwin inhabited many worlds but found little comfort in any of them. He accepted that discomfort as an artist's lot. "A society must assume that it is stable, but the artist must know, and he must let us know, that there is nothing stable under heaven," he wrote in 1962. He first alerted us to the instability of life in black urban America in 1953 with his first book, *Go Tell It on the Mountain*. It was an autobiographical novel that detailed the anguish of a sensitive black youth trapped in a culture that devalued his gifts. The book announced the arrival of a unique talent: an observer who straddled two cultures with unspeakable wisdom about both.

Born in Harlem in 1924, his earliest influences were those from urban black America's religion-infused core culture. In fact, Baldwin had so adopted that mindset, he became a teenage evangelist, predicting apocalypse at every turn. The urgent tone of his future writing bore the indelible mark of those early influences.

In addition to his intimate knowledge of African-American culture, Baldwin was plugged into the major artistic currents of his era. And because he was able to present his insights in the appropriate cultural jargon, Baldwin's musings were published in an astounding array of publications. In addition to his fiction, the above-cited *Mountain*, *Giovanni's Room*, *Another Country* and *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone*, he wrote pieces for *Partisan Review*, the *New*

Leader, *The Nation*, *Esquire*, *Harpers*, *Playboy*, *Commentary*, the *Progressive* and many others. No other black observer has had as much access to this country's cultural elite.

Embracing the ironies: For blacks, Baldwin was both a source of pride and embarrassment. While there was no one more eloquent in describing the terrible inequities of racist oppression and the psychic damage this nation causes by ignoring them, Baldwin didn't shy away from ironies. He could denounce the racist hypocrisy of this country's religious establishment in one sentence and upbraid the black church in the next. "In spite of the Puritan-Yankee equation of virtue with well-being, Negroes had excellent reasons for doubting that money was made or kept by any very striking adherence to the Christian virtues: it certainly did not work that way for black Christians," he wrote in a *New Yorker* article in 1962. For blacks, Baldwin said, those virtues "were merely another means of holding Negroes in subjection."

Baldwin considered himself an alien in all cultures. He grew up thinking himself ugly, and by the perverse standards of black America—standards that equate beauty with proximity to Caucasian features—he was. Skinny and slight, bug-eyed and full-lipped with wide, flaring nostrils, Baldwin's physical appearance isolated him from peer rituals. But it also insulated him from negative influences and nurtured his powers of empathy; he preened his writing instead of his hair style.

His homosexuality also presented a problem to those blacks who, though inspired by his literary success, were repelled by his sexual orientation. Black artists, fighting the popular bias in the black community that those with artistic inclinations tended also to be gay, found Baldwin's candor distressing. This antipathy was intensified and compounded during the militant '60s. Entranced by the breast-thumping rhetoric of black cultural nationalism, black intellectuals of this era shunned Baldwin for his embrace of

European artistic canons as well as for his lack of tribal machismo. They also deplored what now would be called his "wimpiness."

Although Baldwin came through those criticisms only slightly scathed, they nonetheless affected him.

"I loved the energy being produced by black people during the '60s," he said during a 1985 book party for his last book, *Evidence of Things Not Seen*, an account of his investigation into the Atlanta child murders of the early '80s. "And, to be honest, I wanted to participate in it somehow—if only as an elder statesman." He needn't have worried; Baldwin's 1963 non-fiction work, *The Fire Next Time*, is his passport into the pantheon of black literary titans. The book not only presaged the "long hot summer" riots of 1964-68, but its profile of the Nation of Islam—or Black Muslims—remains the definitive word on the group's *raison d'être*. Baldwin's shimmering insights will long outlive the bombastic pamphleteering in which his critics indulged.

Mixed reviews: While his essays were praised lavishly, critics were less kind to his fiction and that enraged him in his early years. Baldwin shared the common prejudice that only through successful fiction could writers gain legitimacy as creative artists. He later accepted his facility in the essay form as a special artistry and became less concerned with the biases of literary critics. His essays were simultaneously idiosyncratic, lyrical and straightforward.

"Negroes want to be treated like men: a perfectly straightforward statement, containing only seven words," Baldwin wrote in a 1960 *Esquire* essay. "People who have mastered Kant, Hegel, Shakespeare, Marx, Freud and the Bible find this statement utterly unpenetrable. The idea seems to threaten profound, barely conscious assumptions." This essay is part of a huge, invaluable volume of Baldwin's collected non-fiction from 1948 to 1985. Published by St. Martin's Press and entitled *The Price of The Ticket*, the collection provides an opportunity to survey Baldwin's thematic concerns and his intellectual development.

One word seldom heard when discussing Baldwin is prescience, but that may just be the most apt description for the noble word warrior who helped explain black America to whites and whites to themselves. Reading through his early work is an eerie exercise: issues that tax the verbal resources of contemporary pundits were long ago pinned down by the perceptive preacher's son. His far-flung considerations of Norman Mailer, and of his unofficial mentor, Richard Wright, are classics of what could only be called the "Baldwinian" method of criticism.

His self-exile in Europe—he died in southern France—was only a metaphor for his psychic exile, his aloneness. "Perhaps the primary distinction of the artist is that he must actively cultivate that state which most men, necessarily, must avoid: the state of being alone," he wrote in 1962. Baldwin thought that aloneness was necessary for the creative process because "the artist is distinguished from all other responsible actors in society...by the fact that he is his own test tube, his own laboratory, working according to very vigorous rules, however unstated these may be, and cannot allow any consideration to supersede his responsibility to reveal all that he can possibly discover concerning the mystery of the human being.... The artist," he added, "cannot and must not take anything for granted, but must drive to the heart of every answer and expose the question the answer hides." ■